
This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

GoogleTM books

<https://books.google.com>



UC-NRLF



\$B 748 067

DOCUMENTS





Great Britain
Ministry of Information

1/4 b1
new
~~one~~
top

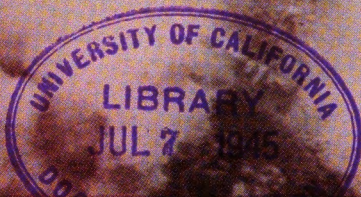
[Miscellaneous
Publications]

Volume
No. 14

~~1000~~ 1000
1000 cut

✓
DEFENSE

2 Gt. Brit. Ministry of Information



AERIAL BOMBARDMENT

The Facts

Σ 1944?



Introduction

DA10
+5:
0.14

THE GERMANS ARE SEEKING to enlist sympathy for themselves, as defeat becomes more and more certain, by declaring that British bombing is directed against civilian populations and historic buildings.

British bombing of German war production centres has, during the past two years, become steadily heavier and more concentrated. Inevitably, damage to civilian life and property has increased in proportion. But incidental damage of this type, heavy though it may in fact be, is a very different thing from the deliberate terror-bombing of civilians.

Germany has believed from the very beginning in terror-bombing as a short cut to victory—the ruins of Warsaw, Rotterdam, Belgrade and the City of London bear witness to this, as do many cynical statements of the Germans!

Quite apart from the humanitarian aspects of the case, the British know from their own experience of German terror-bombing that such attacks, regarded as part of a long-term military policy, are simply a waste of bombs.

After the centre of Coventry, together with its Cathedral, had been razed to the ground by the Luftwaffe, the Germans coined a new verb—"to coventrate," a phrase which their radio stations and newspapers brandished as a triumphant

threat. The British, too, have coined a phrase, which describes their own policy—"Economic bombing."

These two phrases reflect two attitudes to war. Germany wanted war—total war, which would enable her to smash her way ruthlessly to a rapid victory. While Britain went to the limits of concession, in a vain bid for peace, Germany went from aggression to aggression. And when war came, Britain was perilously unprepared to meet the air forces which Germany had built up over so long a period.

The world knows how Germany used her air supremacy. Millions of European civilians have lost their lives to the Luftwaffe, and historic European towns have been reduced to shambles.

These tactics did not win the war for Germany. To-day, the British, reinforced by pilots and aircraft from the Commonwealth, the United States, and the European Allies, are masters of the air over Europe, and the defeat of Germany has become merely a question of time. What the Germans are doing in the occupied countries makes it imperative that that time should be as short as possible.

Upon this necessity, Britain has based her bombing policy—a carefully thought-out strategy, designed to end the war as quickly as possible by preventing German war materials from reaching the front. Terror-bombing has no part in that policy, for it is designed to destroy, not the German people, but German war-making capacity.

What the Germans **SAID**

when they ruled the skies . . .

HITLER, SEPTEMBER 4TH 1940 :

“ We shall erase their (the British) cities.”

LUFTWAFFE PILOT, SPEAKING ON BERLIN RADIO,
OCTOBER 11TH 1940 :

“ This bombing of London was a never-to-be-forgotten pleasure . . . all of us in the plane lived that moment of happiness and joy when we thought of the damage our bombs would do to London. The joy of bombing London is unforgettable.”

GERMAN-CONTROLLED PARIS RADIO, SEPTEMBER 1940 ;

“ The legend of British self-control and phlegm is being destroyed. All reports from London concur in stating that the population is seized by fear—hair-raising fear. The 7,000,000 Londoners have completely lost their self-control. They run aimlessly about in the streets, and are the victims of bombs and bursting shells.”

The last extract is particularly interesting—in spite of its complete inaccuracy—because, like all German propaganda, it tells not of what actually happened, but of what the Germans would have liked to happen.

What the Germans DID

when they ruled the skies . . .

THE THREAT OF AIR BOMBING had been used to achieve the annexation of Austria, and later of Czechoslovakia. To overawe the inhabitants, hundreds of German bombers flew over Vienna and Prague. Warsaw was the first great city to be smashed without mercy by the Luftwaffe. Bombing from the air lasted almost without interruption from September 1st to September 27th 1939, when Poland was forced to yield. Many other Polish towns were ruthlessly bombed and the bombing of civilians in Poland was one of the chief features of the German horror film "Baptism of Fire," which the Germans employed to intimidate neutrals.

Holland was a neutral; Germany invaded Holland without provocation. On Tuesday, May 14th 1940, the Luftwaffe attacked Rotterdam. Wave after wave of bombers flew over the city and destruction hurtled down. An area near the centre of the city of nearly three million square metres was completely destroyed. Over 30,000 people were killed on that terrible afternoon, and over 50,000 others were rendered homeless. It was the threat to subject the city of Utrecht to the same treatment which caused the Dutch High Command to surrender. Afterwards, the Germans proudly published photographs of bombed Rotterdam. Their object was to show how completely their Luftwaffe could destroy a city and the lives of its citizens—a fact of which they were proud. Air power had been employed remorselessly against civilians to achieve a military result.

Nearly a year later, on April 6th 1941, it was the turn of Belgrade. It had been declared an open city, but that made no difference—800 aircraft made the attack, 18 fighters took the air to defend the city. In a few hours over a quarter of the houses of Belgrade were in ruins ; over 25,000 people—a tenth of the city's population—were casualties.

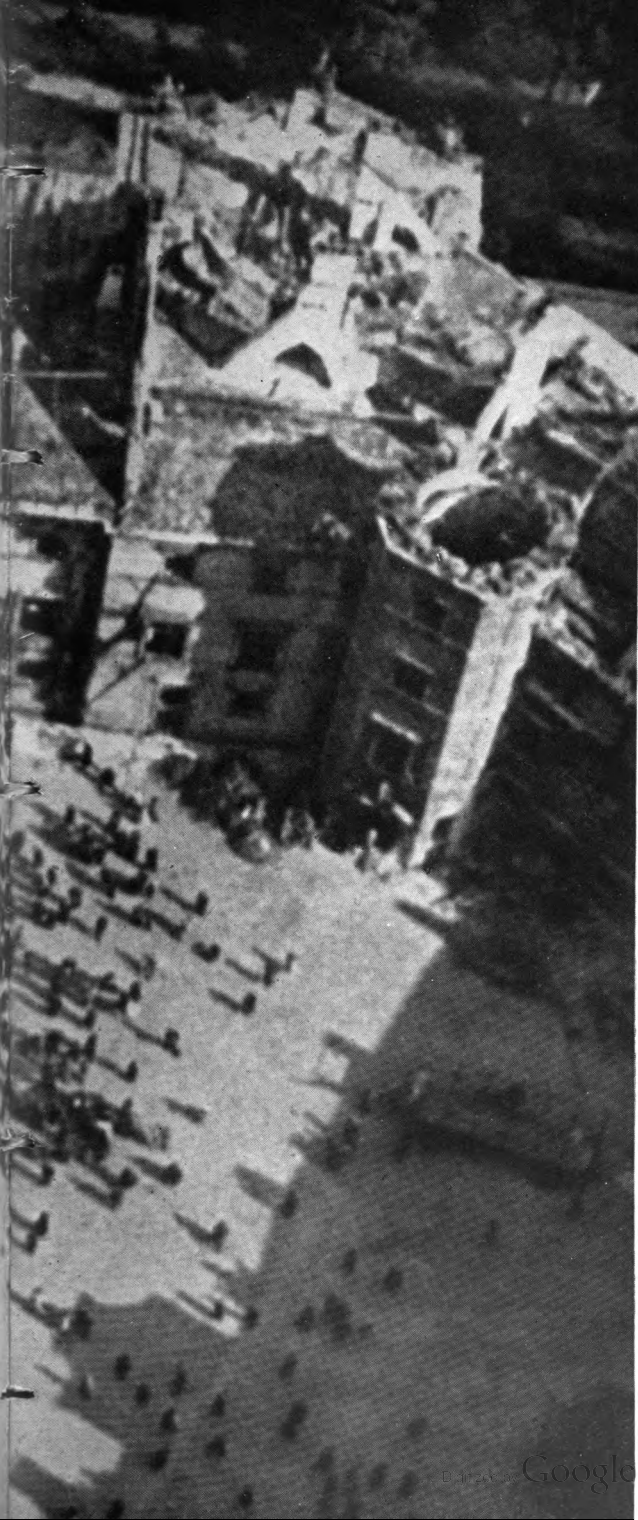
These are only a few isolated examples of German barbarity in their air war against Europe.

Göring plans the air attack on Polish cities August 31st 1939. This and the photograph overleaf are from the German terror film "Baptism of Fire," which glorified German bombing of Polish civilians.



POLAND





A Polish target—a market square. The surrounding tenement houses have already been bombed and the people rush for shelter as a new attack is made. Afterwards, the Germans made a film of their indiscriminate bombing of Polish civilians, from which this photograph is taken.

What a neutral could expect from the Luftwaffe. RIGHT: Rotterdam burns after the savage German attack of May 14th 1940. BELOW: This picture, widely published by the Germans, shows what was left of Rotterdam after an afternoon's bombing, in which 30,000 civilians lost their lives.





The German Air Force

and British Towns . . .

IN AUGUST 1940, the Luftwaffe began its main assault against Britain. It was originally a daylight offensive, designed to sweep the British fighters from the sky. When this failed, the Luftwaffe remorselessly pounded British towns, making the majority of their raids at night.

The first big attack on London came on September 7th 1940. It killed 430 people and seriously wounded 1,600. London endured continuous bombing for 57 nights (September 7th to November 2nd) and thereafter was heavily bombed at frequent intervals until the last big air raid on May 10th 1941. Coventry, Birmingham, Bristol, Sheffield, Manchester, Portsmouth, Southampton, Liverpool, Plymouth, Glasgow, Hull, Belfast—all were heavily raided.

Up to the end of 1941 over 44,600 civilians had been killed, more than half of whom were women or children, while a further 52,000 had been seriously injured. By October 1943, the figure for fatal casualties had risen to over 50,000 and the seriously injured to over 59,600.

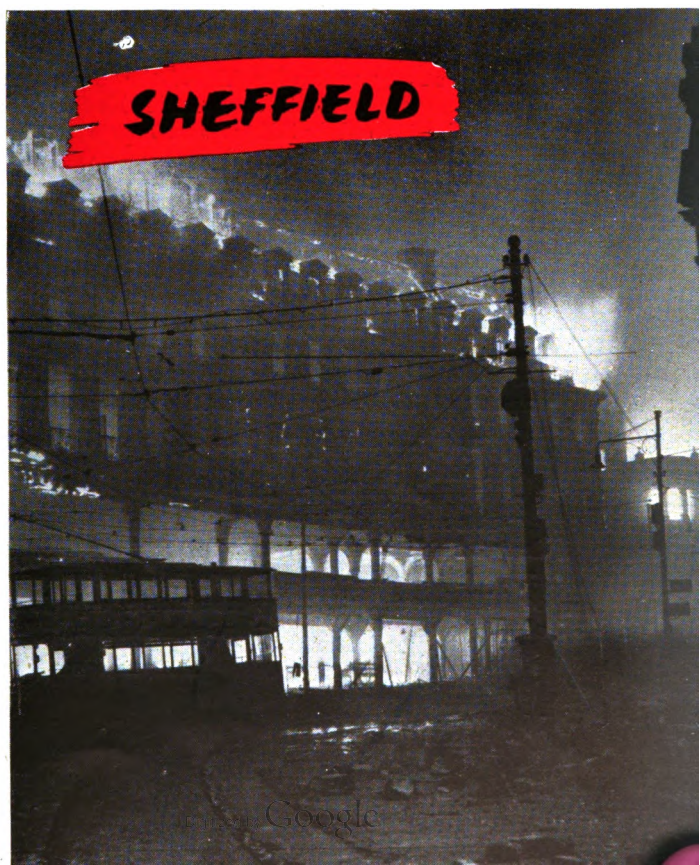
Obviously, the Germans believed that indiscriminate bombing of British towns would so lower civilian morale that Britain would speedily collapse. The actual effect of terror raids was rather to rouse the fighting spirit of the British people to a higher pitch than ever before, while the effects of high civilian casualties were more than countered by the encouraging sight of steadily rising war-production figures.



LONDON



LEFT : *St. Paul's Cathedral, London, in a lurid air raid setting.* BOTTOM LEFT: *A scene in the middle of Coventry the morning after the air attack of November 14th 1940, in which hundreds of people were killed and injured. Fatal casualties were over 1,000.* BELOW: *Sheffield burns.* Over 50,000 people have been killed in air raids on Great Britain.



The "Baedeker" Raids

IN APRIL 1942, as the R.A.F. offensive against Germany began to gather weight, the Luftwaffe started a series of retaliatory raids against the Cathedral cities of England. These raids became known as the "Baedeker" raids, after the famous guide books.

Canterbury, York, Norwich, Bath and Exeter were all made targets for German bombs. Military objectives were not considered and the true attitude of the Luftwaffe is made plain by the following quotations from German Press statements at the time :—

"Exeter has not the uniform density of Bath, but on the other hand the buildings are of incomparably higher artistic worth. All these treasures are now only historic memories."

Berliner Boersen-Zeitung, 28.4.42.

"The strong reprisal raids of the German air force were directed against York in central England. York is well known for its old buildings and especially for its eleventh-century Minster."

D.N.B., quoted by Budapest in Hungarian, 29.4.42.

"Punishment was meted out immediately, and it will be continued on an ever-growing scale until Britain comes to her senses. The Führer left no doubt of this on Sunday. Firstly, the residential quarters of Exeter and Bath were laid in ruins. Even British propaganda has repeatedly admitted this and announced that severe losses in dead had to be expected."

General of the Air Force Quade, German home broadcast, 1.5.42.

"Thousands of high-explosive and incendiary bombs were dropped on Bath, partly from low altitudes. They all exploded on the chosen targets. Many large fires, which could be seen far away, were started especially in the centre of the town. They had the intended result."

German home broadcast, 26.4.42.



EXETER





These three photographs and the one on the preceding page show results of the Baedeker raids on Great Britain in the early part of 1942.

The first photograph shows damage to houses, many of them of historic interest, near Exeter's fourteenth-century Cathedral, which itself has been badly damaged. TOP LEFT: Results of the air attack on Exeter. The buildings destroyed were all private residences, mostly of historic value. ABOVE: Damage to historic buildings in Bath. ON LEFT: The wrecked Library of Canterbury Cathedral. None of these three towns was of industrial significance. Canterbury is the See of the Primate of the Church of England. Bath is famous for its eighteenth-century architecture, the unity of which, until the German air raids, was unique.

THE BRITISH AIR ATTACK ON GERMANY

WHEN WAR CAME, the Royal Air Force, though superbly equipped and trained, was very small in actual numbers. Even so, the high quality of British fighter aircraft and the skill of their pilots proved more than a match for the great waves of German bombers which attacked Britain in 1940 and 1941. British bomber strength grew steadily—but elaborate planning was needed in order that it might be used with maximum effectiveness. No bombing was carried out without careful preliminary reconnaissance and to every stick of bombs was allotted a target chosen for its strategic importance to the German war effort.

As British bomber squadrons grew—and were joined by United States forces—the policy of “economic bombing” developed in a number of different directions. Factories and transport centres are obvious targets; coal production, too, has been greatly reduced by heavy raids on the Ruhr. U-boat construction has suffered heavily as the result of extensive damage both to building yards and to factories turning out component parts, such as Diesel engines.

Great disorganisation has also been accomplished by damaging simultaneously a number of centres all concentrating upon the same type of production. Thus, in May 1943, the steel towns of Essen, Duisburg, Dortmund, Bochum and Düsseldorf in the Ruhr were all heavily raided, with the result that none of the key industries of any of these towns could be taken over by any of the others.





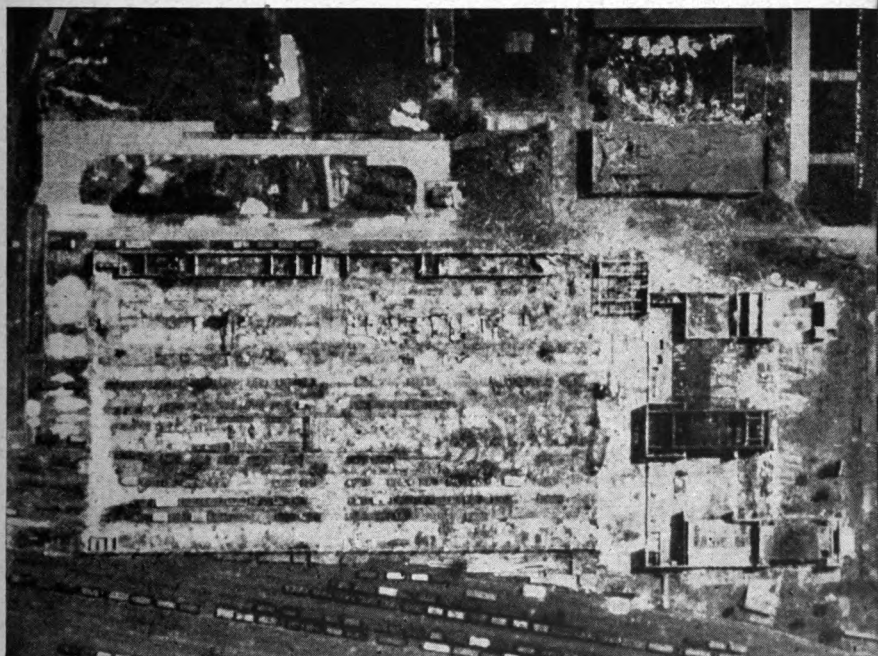
ABOVE: *Lübeck after R.A.F. raids. The white line encloses the bombed area. Lübeck was an important centre for the assembly of U-boat parts. RIGHT: A street in the industrial part of Lübeck after an R.A.F. raid.*

Figures tell their own story : The tonnage dropped by the R.A.F. on Germany increased from 5,250 in the second half of 1940 to 54,000 in the first half of 1943.

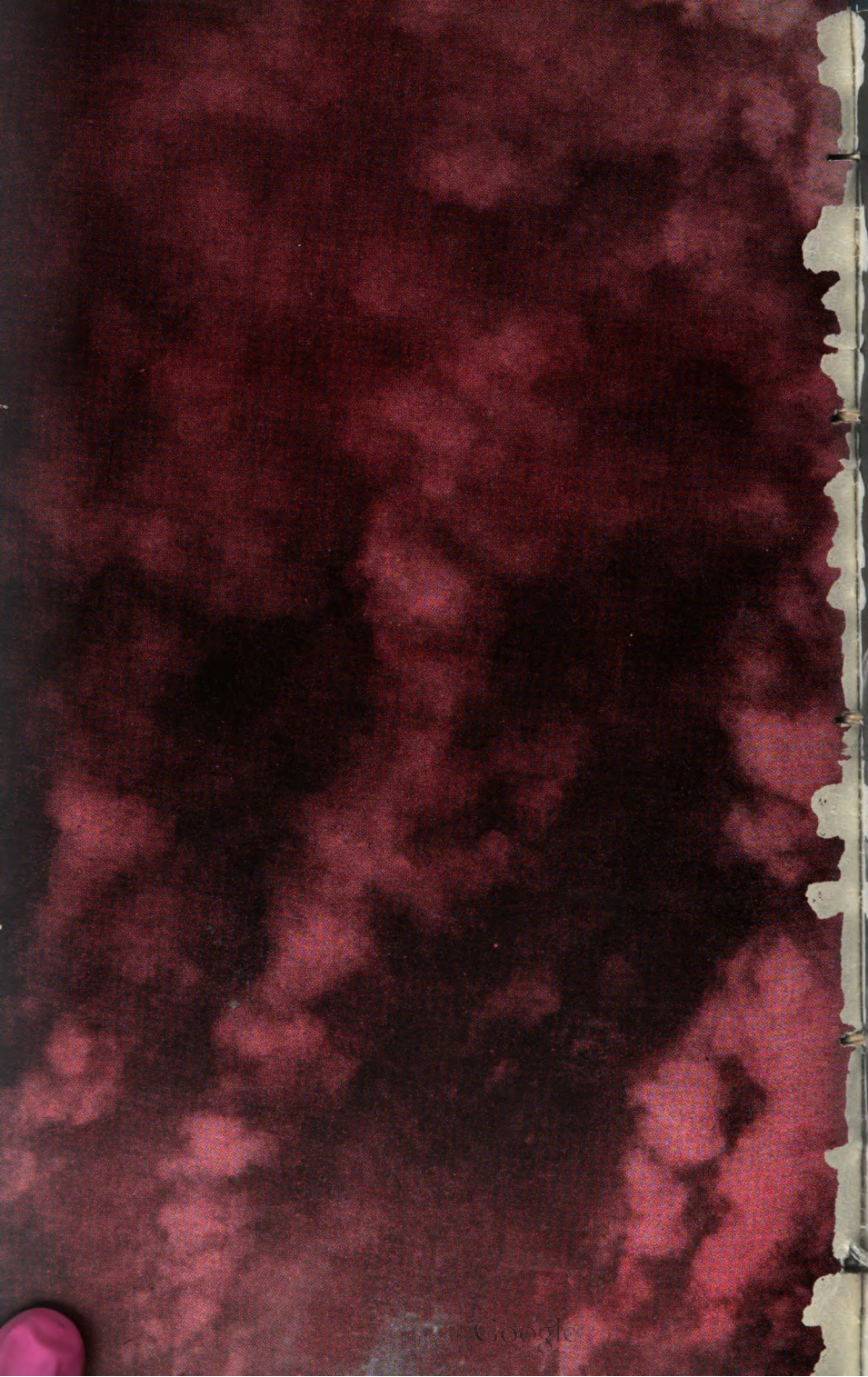
During the autumn and winter of 1943-44, Berlin received a series of paralysing raids—raids designed not to terrify the civilian population, but simply and systematically to eliminate Berlin as the focal point of the German war effort.







LEFT: After a devastating R.A.F. raid on the important chemical industry town of Stettin. ABOVE: Before-and-after photographs of a factory at Cologne.



164 Brit. Ministry of Information

ACCENSE EVE

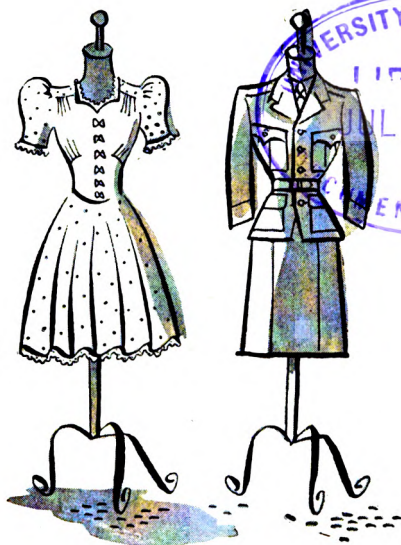
in overalls



164 Brit

by Arthur Wauters, Official Delegate of the Belgian
Government to the British Ministry of Information

EVE



in khaki

LITTLE MORE than forty years ago the occupations open to women could be counted on the fingers. For centuries women have been housekeepers, dressmakers, milliners, governesses, secretaries, nurses, shop assistants, mill-girls and waitresses. The first woman lawyer, however, caused a great sensation; the first woman doctor and the first policewoman almost started a riot.

But nowadays women are playing a part in many other spheres of life, and war-time exigencies have brought many women into jobs which were previously only performed by men. This phenomenon has provoked a veritable psychological and social revolution. Technical developments and improvements, by removing or considerably reducing all physical effort, have made it possible for



A.T.S. are in the front line in Britain to-day, operating searchlights and gun-sights. This identification telescope picks up hostile aircraft, giving bearing and angle of sight.



Two W.R.N.S. training to be Wireless Telegraphists at a Naval Establishment, where Morse is automatically written on tapes at 200 to 300 words a minute.

women to enter any and every profession. It is even possible for them to take up occupations from which they were previously barred, because the work was too hard, too dangerous or too unhealthy. Now they are quite at their ease doing these jobs.

For all the belligerents without exception, the problem of industrial labour has become infinitely more acute than that of military effectives.

It is generally agreed that it requires seven workmen to feed, equip and transport one soldier. When the American troops landed in Northern Ireland, it was said that each combatant brought five tons of material with him. These figures give some idea of the extent of the effort made by the peoples of the United Nations.

To judge by the effort being made in Great Britain, the people are prepared to make any sacrifices for victory.

Women have not only entered factories by the million, but they are taking a direct and increasing share in actual defensive military operations. They are doing so either as volunteers or by compulsion as a result of the law which draws them into the service of the nation as conscripts. This surprising event took place in a country which knew nothing of military conscription, and where individual liberty had achieved a degree unknown in any other region of the world, and each time that the Government increased its compulsory measures, they were unanimously approved by public opinion. In the by-elections which have been held since the declaration of war, the Government has only been defeated by candidates who proposed to go even further as regards the total mobilisation of the energies of the nation ; and most of these elections took place at a time when the Allies were suffering severe reverses.

What work do these women do in the sea, land and air services ?

First and foremost, they carry out jobs which do not necessarily

Postwomen are a familiar sight to-day, clearing pillar boxes and delivering letters all over the country.



require male collaboration. They act as orderlies, messengers, telephonists and secretaries. They work as cooks, bus-conductresses, and postwomen. They have naturally enough taken charge of canteens and shops. They are also playing an increasingly important rôle in transmission and liaison work. They have become extremely expert as signallers ; they make admirable meteorologists, and they fully appreciate the importance of secret messages. They repair the parachutes made by their comrades in the factories, they take photographs, they work as electricians and they make guns, and an ever-increasing number pilot aircraft from the factories to the airfields.

Women have taken the men's place in laboratories and it is they who handle the wireless sets. It is they, too, who test sparking plugs. And they naturally have an important place in ambulance work. Quite a few have been decorated for acts of exceptional bravery.

Mary Begg, whose husband works in an aircraft factory, now sees the trains off at Euston Station.



engers,
tresses,
rge of
ortant
remely
and they
repair
ey take
and an
to the

is they
plugs.
work.
ravery.

d works
ow sees
Station.



Irene Wragg is a twenty-one-year-old employee of the London Midland and Scottish Railway and her job is to load the delivery vans with supplies sent by rail.



Mrs. Winzer and Mrs. Talbot work on a new job for women, cleaning tubes in the smoke box of a "Sandringham" class locomotive, on the London and North Eastern Railway.

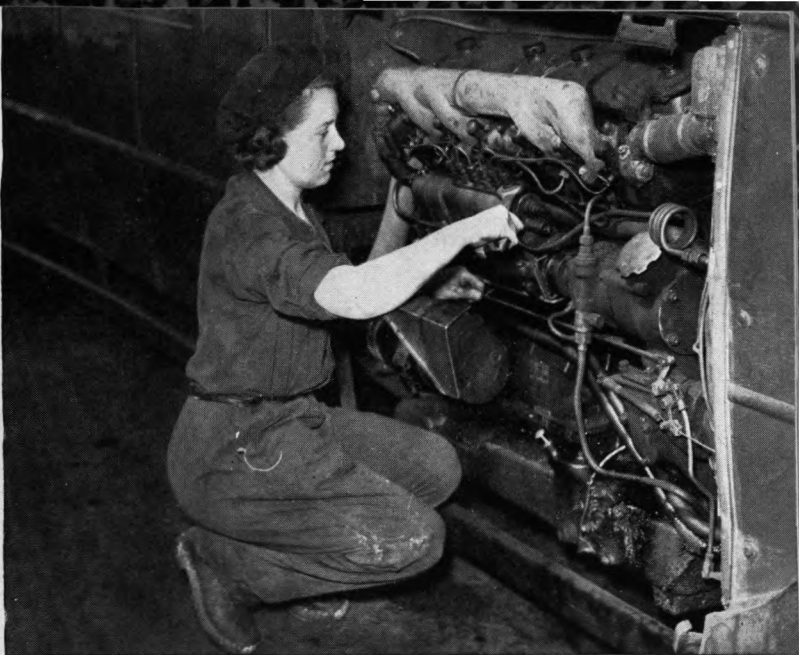
Women are also trained in the fire services, the police and the organizations created to take care of air-raid victims.

They do all these jobs with remarkable courage and professional conscientiousness. After the bombs have fallen during an air-raid, there are injuries to be treated, temporary lodgings to be found for those rendered homeless and who have to be moved and fed, and children to be evacuated.

During the night of May 10th, 1941, London had a particularly severe raid. At the place where I was at the time there were 125 casualties. The majority of them were not a pleasing sight. It must have required a great deal of strength of character to approach those mutilated limbs, those gaping heads and torn bodies. The women who were looking after them did so quietly and methodically without any sound or agitation or flurry, and above all without any fuss. Some of them offered their services spontaneously, although

Most of the London buses now carry women conductresses. Here is one of them checking over the day's schedule with her driver at the depot.





This girl, checking an engine, is a maintenance worker in a London Passenger Transport Board garage. She helps to keep the London buses running, by replacing men mechanics who are called-up for military service.

it was not part of their job. The following day I found them all back at their normal tasks. Their eyes looked tired and their faces were pale, but not one made any mention of the tragedy of the night before. This tranquil heroism is to be found wherever the women of Britain are calmly and quietly carrying out their civic duties.

Discretion does not allow the mention of many figures, but a few are available which make it possible to judge the value of women's contribution to the defence of endangered liberty.

There are 700,000 women engaged on work organized by the Ministry of Health. This includes assisting in evacuation, nursing, maternity work, care of children under five, and of school-children in hostels, work at rest centres, etc.

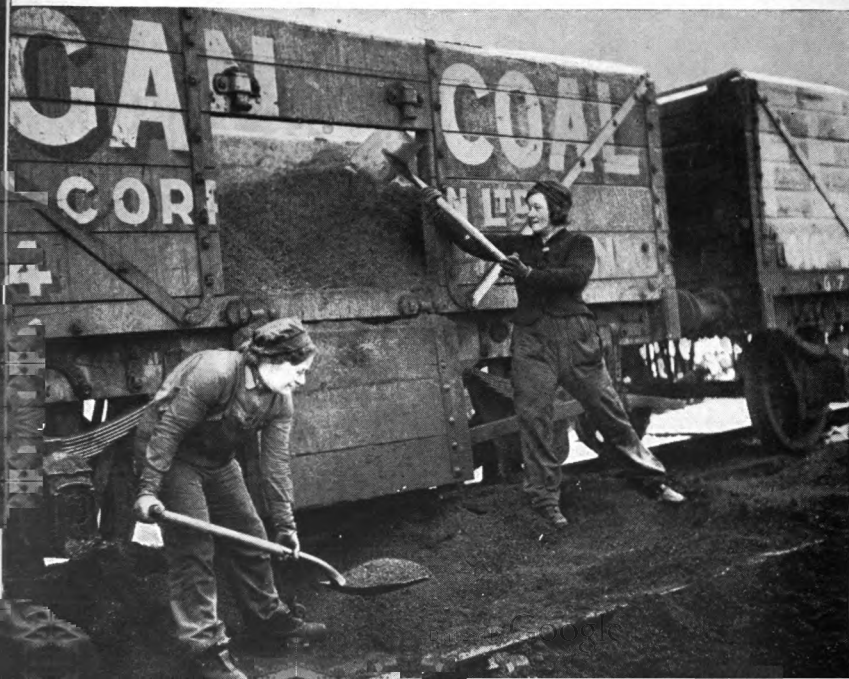
One hundred and twenty-five thousand women are now on the Post Office staff, 2,000 of whom are doing work previously only undertaken by qualified craftsmen. They are now entrusted with the laying of telephone wires, their adjustment, and other mechanical jobs.

In the realm of transport there are even more surprising things to



A volunteer "pick and shovel" gang trench-digging and laying a power cable at a Southern Railway depot.

A real man's job—but two women got down to shovelling coal dust on to a railway truck. Mrs. Makins has two children at school and her colleague, Mrs. Morris, is the mother of five grown-up children.



Women are now being trained to act as ground crews at Bomber and Fighter Stations, thus releasing men for other duties. At this Fighter Station, W.A.A.F.S. are shown refuelling a plane.

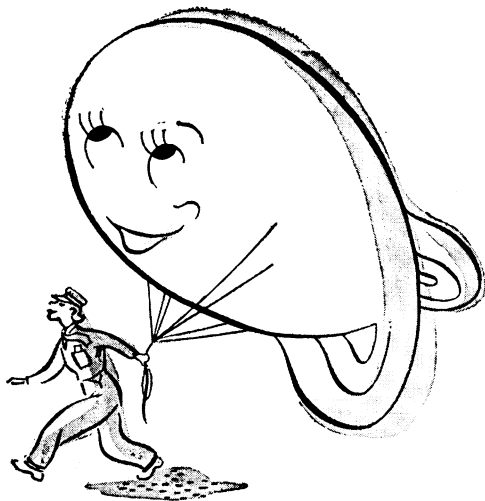


be seen. There are, it need hardly be said, women station-masters and ticket collectors. The Greater London underground network has one woman for every eight members of the staff. On the railways they act as porters, deal with luggage, and even drive the electric trolleys. They are responsible for the signals and signal boxes, and they clean down the engines. And at the ports there are a number of women dockers to be found.

Have you ever painted the underneath of a bridge as it stretches over a river? I imagine not, but there are women doing it in Britain.

All these women are not necessarily working for payment. There is the Women's Voluntary Service with over a million members. They have all signed on for the duration of the war and their work is absolutely voluntary. The woman who drove me recently was a university woman who had specialized in ethnography. She was donating her time, her car, and her money to war work.

BEAUTY



and the blimps

A CAPTIVE BALLOON is not very war-like. First and foremost, it is a prisoner, and, to judge by its bad temper and impatience, it finds this very annoying.

When on the ground it makes one think of an elephant sorrowfully flapping its ears and sadly meditating on its misfortunes. When in the air it resembles a rickety, anæmic, aero-dynamic archangel awaiting some message from the skies. It is a truly Walt Disney creation.

But in spite of its laughable and ridiculous appearance, it is a very formidable defensive weapon. Its harmless and homesick mien is deceptive in the extreme.

The one I saw was lodged in the middle of a square in a large town. In the midst of debris from a recent raid, children were playing "catch" round it.

Its crew was composed entirely of women, all of whom were very young. Not very long ago their pretty hands must still have been playing with toy balloons. It cannot have been very long ago either since they were still engrossed with dolls. The balloon has increased in size, the toy has become this monstrous insect.

The care of a captive balloon is not what the uninitiated may think. It is a greedy animal. When it is brought down from the skies, it has to be given its bottle. Tractors, driven by young girls, bring huge cylinders filled with gas.

Then it has to be hoisted. The pull on its mooring ropes must be regulated in accordance with the velocity of the wind, the visibility and the hygrometric condition of the air. All this requires

Britain's Balloon Barrage defence is one of the toughest jobs that the W.A.A.F. have taken on. This airwoman, helping to bed down a balloon, wears the working aircrew suit and boots.



a considerable amount of dexterity, method, co-ordination and physical strength. The girls carry out all this work with strict military discipline, and it is all done with perfect good humour.

They were all radiantly healthy and warmly clad. At night, when it is windy and wet, the temperature falls rapidly, but they are snugly wrapped in waterproof uniforms. They themselves very much resemble miniature captive balloons. Yet feminine coquetry will never give up all its claims. Whether under a cap or a steel helmet, their hair—and this is generally very beautiful in England—is arranged to show the waves to the very best advantage.



This W.A.A.F. trainee is learning how to inflate a barrage balloon correctly.



An outsize ladder is used by the girls to attend to the fins as the balloon is being inflated.

The number of members forming a balloon crew is considerable. There are thousands of stations in Great Britain of the same kind. There are 3,500 miles of coastline to be protected, apart from places of vital importance and industrial centres. A fair estimate of the number of men that have thus been freed for combatant jobs can easily be reckoned.

I noticed a horse-shoe over the doorway of the main billet. Houses with gaping walls, heaps of rubble on the ground, twisted rails and broken stone pillars showed, however, that the German Air Force has not had very much respect for this innocent faith in the superstition of a childish luck-bringer.

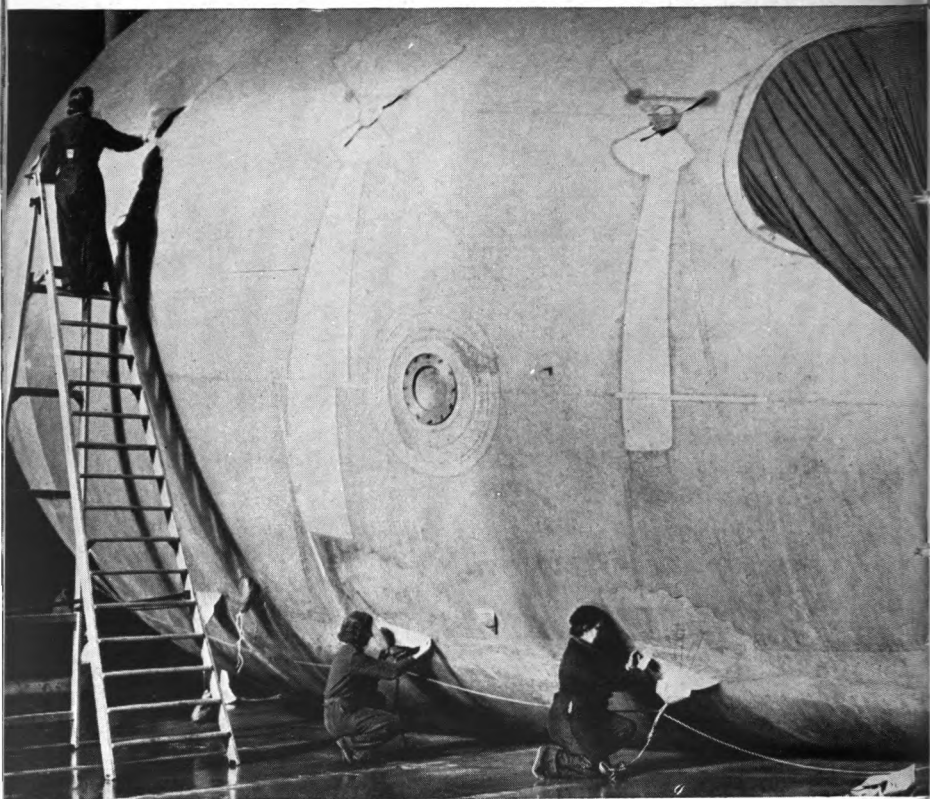
Here we are at Z.S.13.

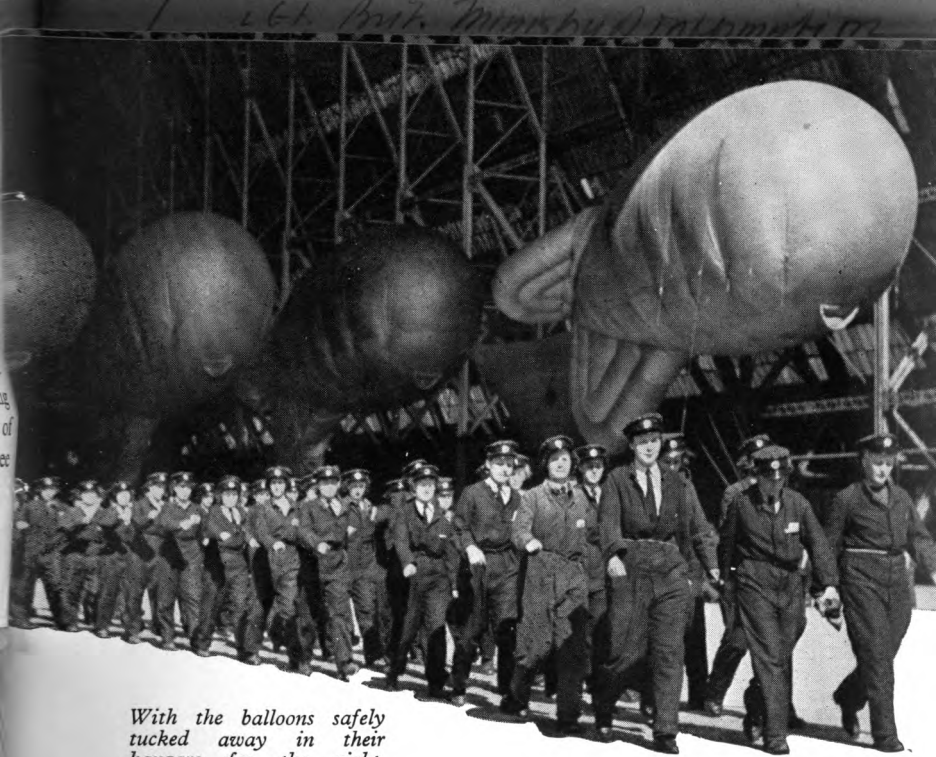
Z.S.13 is the site of an anti-aircraft battery—somewhere in England. The sun is shining on the gentle slopes of the hills, a soft

breeze is whispering among some of the loveliest trees in the world. The view stretches away to the distant horizon that inspired the brush of Turner.

Quick-moving and alert-looking young women with frank and laughing eyes are busily occupied with complicated scientific instruments. They handle them with the ease and dexterity of an experienced optician. They identify enemy aircraft, determine their altitude, and calculate with startling precision their probable course. They pass on this information in clear, musical tones to the firing posts. They do all this very quickly, without the slightest trace of hesitation in their actions, which shows the very advanced degree of their training.

W.A.A.F.S. not only have to look after their balloon, but they have to know how to make necessary repairs.





With the balloons safely tucked away in their hangars for the night, these girl operators march off duty at the end of a day's intensive training.

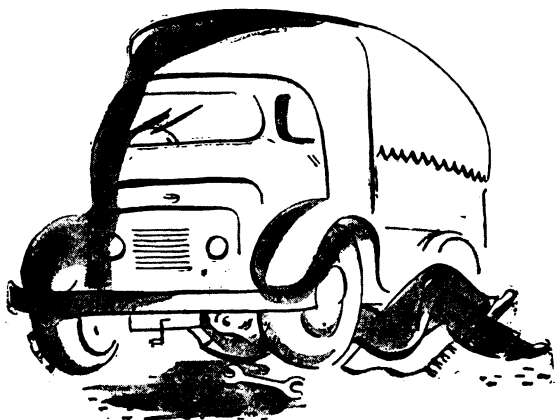
They wear exactly the same uniform as their men comrades, when they are on duty, but as soon as they are off duty they hurry to change back to their own feminine skirts.

One of them asked me, with feigned anxiety : "Don't you think that we are becoming a little too mannish ?"

She was very sure of the reply. She knew very well that there was no question of gallantry conflicting with truth, for she had magnificent eyes, lovely hair and a delightful mouth, and, what was more, she was well aware of this, and was even more aware that no one could long resist her bewitching smile.

But as I left them, I could not help wondering about the future of these young things, spending their time in the hubbub of camp life, sleeping in huts, living under the most complete community conditions, freed from all normal restraint. And I thought of my grandmother, a charming and tender wraith : "Where, oh where, grandmamma, are your jars of preserves and your press full of scented linen ?"

PENELOPE



mechanised

THE CAR is pushing through the country. We are crossing England —proud, placid, devout, morose England. The fog is as opaque as solid concrete.

Suddenly, the proud outposts of apoplectic industry rise up : chimney stacks, overhead railways, bridges, docks, cranes and factory after factory.

Aircraft are to be seen at every stage of the journey. They pass by, unassembled, on fast-moving lorries. They drone overhead or swoop slowly down on to the landing grounds.

It is here that Great Britain, with the aid of the women, is forging her shield.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★



These girl drivers are expected to keep their vehicles in first-class running condition, so thorough training is given in maintenance as well as in driving.



These women are milling the jacket of a gun, vast numbers of which are being turned out at this factory.

There is something desperate and tyrannical in this war of production. Men are in the grip of a sullen frenzy and wild passion. They are a prey to the craze for metal and fire. There is no place here for dreaming or fantasy or frivolity.

Life is spent in a brutal kind of wild delirium. The manufacture of war material is the star to be culled from the sky. Incandescent ingots steer wild orbits through the spark-filled air. Implacable stamps clasp and smother them. Vats and ladles pour molten metal into moulds as they move by in quivering columns on endless belts. Compressed-air machines set up a shrill yelping. Acetylene blow-pipes spit forth blinding comets of light. Forges, like witches' cauldrons, illumine the shop with weird lights. Pneumatic hammers stutter sharp moans. Steel and copper shavings cap the machine tools with permanent waves. . . .

In the very midst of the dust and smoke and diabolical uproar thousands of women are working.

Through a slit in the workshop window I suddenly caught sight of a horse standing in the sunshine peacefully cropping bright green grass.

At the time of the "Enclosures" sheep were kept at the expense of men. Horse-power is now doing away with the live horse.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

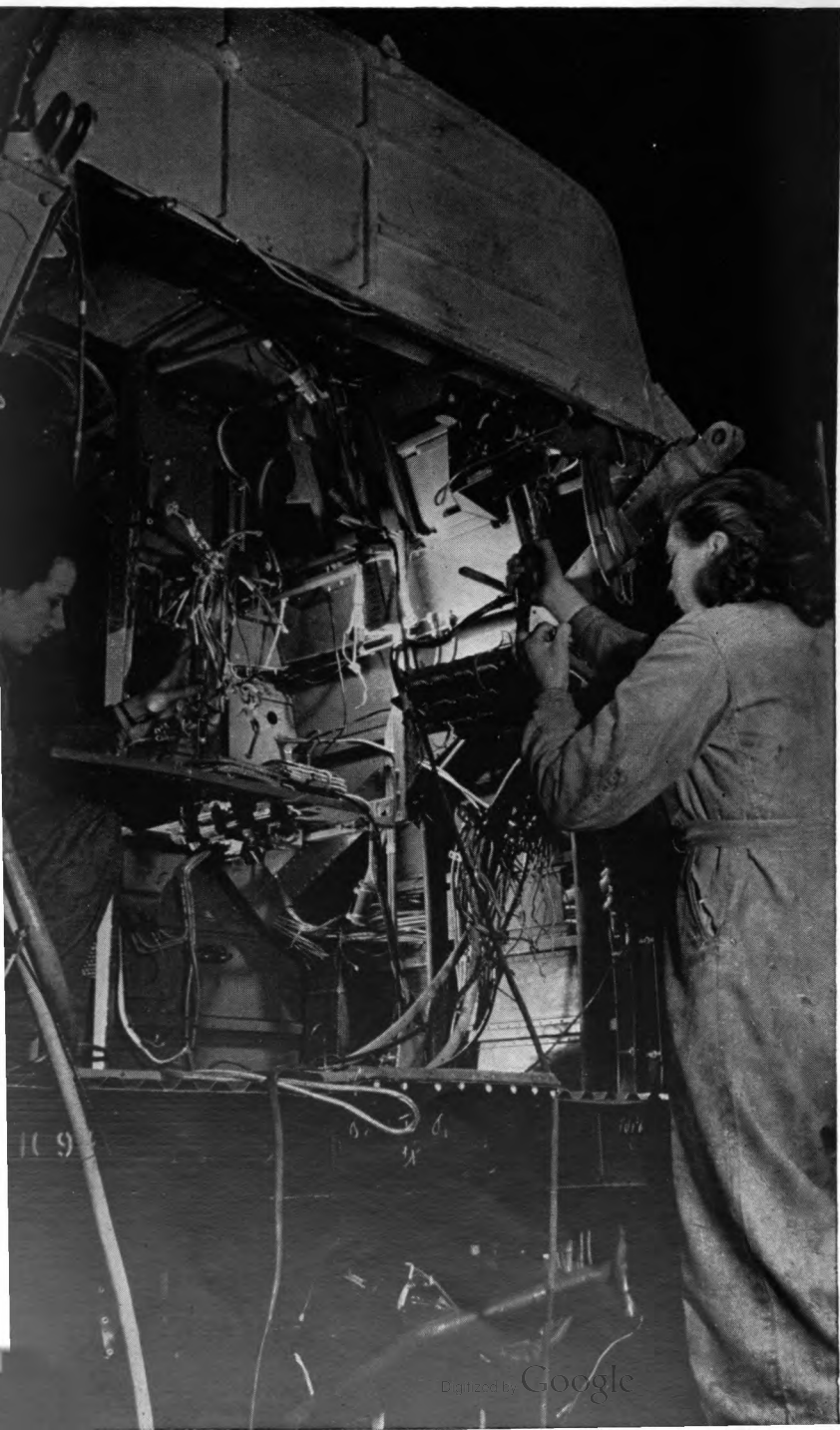
This factory, which is producing nothing but guns—and I saw thousands there—consists of nine large parallel shops. Each one is 665 yards long and there are 3,000 women employed.

From their raised positions the travelling cranes join the hunt for breech-blocks, ingots, engines, and with punctual and precise

Hundreds of thousands of women are working in Army clothing factories, either full-time or part-time, making battle dresses and other equipment for the troops.

Armament workers in a big Munitions Factory, handling lathes expertly.





On the left : These aero factory girls are learning to do technical work, previously done by skilled electricians. They are working on electrical wiring of fuselage.

gestures, like so many great spiders, they seize on them as they pass and lay them down on the benches with courtly grace. Women are working these machines with careful precision, carrying out their tasks methodically, their faces betraying the strain and concentration.

One of them has a few moments' rest. She immediately begins to knit, to knit for the absent son or distant husband, away somewhere in the Middle East or at sea.

Here is another. She is only eighteen years old. She is in sole charge of a machine tool worth £4,000. Her knowledge of machinery was previously limited no doubt to a bicycle or a sewing-machine. Not so long ago she was working in a cinema.

And here is another. Her grinder is polishing very complicated-looking pieces of steel. Her head is surrounded by a halo of sparks. She is humming Schubert's "Song of Love."

Penelope mechanised



Aero factory girls learn how to dismantle damaged aircraft for salvage of parts.

MODERN



dairymaid

THE AGRICULTURAL PROBLEM in Great Britain is one of the most curious in Europe, and one of the most complicated.

The population of the United Kingdom has increased by nearly seven million since the last war, while the area under cultivation has decreased by several million acres. This was due to the spreading of the towns and the construction of airfields which, more often than not, encroach on to the most fertile soil. Great Britain depended on her neighbours and the British Commonwealth of Nations for a considerable portion of her food supplies. The Axis' military successes have not made the solution of this problem any easier.



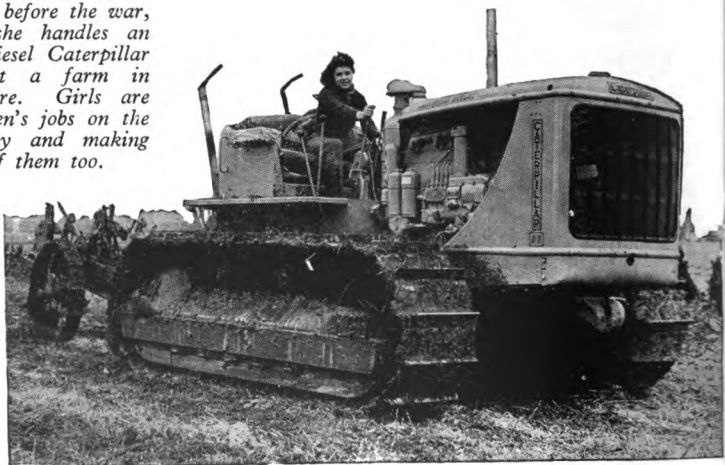
Joan Arden used to work in a Manchester solicitor's office, but now she works as a land girl helping her father on his farm at Swinton.

Democratic Britain did not shrink from facing these difficulties. Democratic methods in practical application have achieved success, for democracy has crossed the political frontier and entered into the economic sector. We have already seen what has been done in industry. The same kind of thing is being done in agriculture. The Government is elaborating the principles of its agricultural policy in agreement with the associations of landowners, farmers and agricultural labourers. Mixed committees, composed of an equal number of delegates from similar professional groups, are entrusted with the development of these ideas.

The results are surprising. The area under cultivation has increased since the war by six million acres. The quantity of corn grown alone has risen by a third, potatoes by 60 per cent., and the whole of Britain's *domestic* sugar ration is grown at home. At the present time four million tons of vegetables are produced, whereas in 1938 this figure was only two-and-a-half million tons. And there are three million small private gardens which supply between ten and fifteen million pounds' worth of vegetables every year.

Science has played a big part in these encouraging improvements. Agriculture in Great Britain is to-day the most mechanised in Europe. More tractors are used than in Germany, although a smaller area is under cultivation than in the Reich.

Kathleen Leach was a Court dressmaker before the war, but now she handles an 80 h.p. Diesel Caterpillar Tractor at a farm in Hertfordshire. Girls are tackling men's jobs on the land to-day and making a success of them too.





Two members of the Women's Land Army at work in the barn of a Hertfordshire farm.

No mistake, however, must be made about the importance and effect of the introduction into agriculture of scientific processes ; biological selection, cold and vacuum storage, artificial fertilisation, drainage and irrigation, the struggle to overcome the effects of hail, frost, pests and diseases—all these can, to a considerable degree, lessen the rigours of Nature. But in agriculture machinery does not play nearly as important a part as in industry. For the latter it helps enormously to increase the output of goods for the market. This is not the case with agriculture. A machine can carry out certain work better and more quickly than can be done by hand, but the laws of germination and growth are immutable. Man has not yet succeeded in speeding up the rhythm.

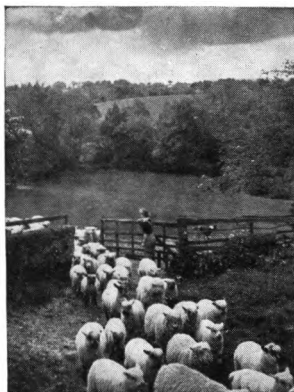
The agricultural problem, therefore, still remains everywhere a problem of manual labour. No solution could have been reached here without the collaboration of women. It is to a large degree the fine army of land girls that has made it possible to win the battle of supplies in the British Isles.

Farmers were at first a little afraid to employ land girls—many on account of their crops and no doubt a few on account of their hearts !



On the left : Two new recruits
to the Women's Land Army
making friends with young calves
at the Institute of Agriculture,
at Usk in Monmouthshire.

*This girl was a former art student
and has been in the Land Army for
18 months. She has just started sheep
shearing and here she is rounding
up her flock ready for the shears.*



A member of the House of Commons tried, however, to convince them by recalling that after all, from the beginning Eve had shown a great interest in the cultivation of fruit. He did not emphasise, it is true, the regrettable consequences of this first experiment, regrettable for the male sex and for humanity as a whole.

I have seen these women at work on the delightful farms of Kent, where the barns are thatched, romantic-looking barns, so cool in summer and so warm in winter. There are women of all types and ages among these land girls, though they are generally somewhere between 17 and 40, and all are volunteers. None of those to whom I have spoken had been connected in any way whatever with rural life before. They had previously been mannequins, manicurists, chorus girls, shop assistants, etc. I have never before been so struck by joy of living, suppleness of gait, vivacity and moral balance. They look gracefully gay in their riding breeches, and they are happy. The majority of them have only one desire : to continue their work on the farms after the war. Their health is excellent ; their food is more varied and more abundant than in the towns. They have a variety of jobs to do, of far less monotonous character than in the factories—and out in the open air.

Agricultural work has certainly very little of the mysterious about it, but it is work which demands a great deal of judgment and a great store of experience. The countryman must in turn be zoologist, botanist, biologist, chemist, meteorologist, and even a mechanic. He has no control over cold or rain, thunder or storms, or drought.



After the hard preparatory work of the winter months, the Land Army girls enjoy making a haystack in the summer sunshine.

Here is a farm with 125,000 fruit trees. They have to be pruned. Which branch should be cut ? Or should it be split ? When should it be done ? How many times must the arms be lifted to pick the fruit ? Millions of times !

Nature does not reveal her secrets to impatient people. Here is another farm. There are 10,000 birds here. For us, the townspeople, one pullet looks much like another. Yet the awkward movements of this one disclose a hidden tumour ; another has a contagious disease which may well affect the whole poultry run.

Fifty thousand tomato plants. To "nip" tomatoes appears to be the simplest operation in the world. Have you ever tried systematically to correct the prodigality of Nature ?

All this work, in which personal intuition plays such a big part, is done by the land girls. They manage it all, to the great astonishment of their employers, who received them at the beginning with a certain amount of scepticism.

They do many other jobs too, and many harder ones. They thresh the corn by machine. They work the cutting and binding machines. They drive the tractors which draw heavy, five-pronged ploughs ; the furrows have to be straight, but great mounds of earth slyly turn the machine off its course. They carry heavy trusses of fodder in great armfuls. They saw up the trees and steep them in sulphate. They handle lead acetate and nicotine. They keep watch over the incubators, from which thousands of little chicks will swarm, and these will later supply the tables of the city dwellers who know nothing of the hard work of the fields. They make careful selection of the potatoes. With sure, unhesitating movements they place the aluminium identity discs between the wing bones of the little chicks without causing them a single squeak of pain.

If, in this heroic isle, besieged now for over three years, we are not going hungry, this is due in no small part to these happy land girls.



Twelve girls are employed on the London County Council Horton, Surrey, farm, and are making a great success of their work. Here are some of the girls giving a 2-weeks-old lamb a meal from a feeding bottle.

WHEN



the girls come home

WHAT DO THESE WOMEN think about as they tackle their jobs ?

People who are not familiar with the average worker are too ready to imagine that the pay packet is their main thought. This is quite wrong. During the first three months of the war, employers in Great Britain carried out an inquiry among their staffs, covering tens of thousands of individuals. It was an endeavour to trace causes of worry or discontent among workpeople. The result was most surprising ; the black-out was the most frequent cause of a somewhat troubled state of mind. The question of pay, if my memory is correct, held sixth or seventh place among the reasons for anxiety. The food question, difficulties of transport, conditions of work, and also the reasons and causes of the war, and preparation for the



A little Yorkshire village claims to be the only one to have an "All-Girls" fire squad. Betty Banks, a 22-year-old railway clerk, started it and the squad call themselves the Women's Voluntary Fire Service.

The "Ack-Ack" girls who go into action against night raiders. Here are some of the girls in the London Area at work on their height-finder on a gun site. Theirs is dangerous and responsible work.



In the Regional Control Room at a London Fire Station, Fireman Manuel is shown locating on the mobilization board, while W.N.F.S. keep in touch with sub-stations.

future, came well before the question of remuneration, which is so often held to be the strongest motive-power for mankind.

I have been able to prove by personal contact and questions how true are these observations, collated during the first three months of the war. As far as wages are concerned, exceptional cases are often cited which might lead people to believe that these were reaching astronomical figures. This, too, is quite wrong. It is true, however, that a number of women and young people who had not been earning money before, are doing so now.

I happened one day, during an air-raid alert, to be in a factory canteen. Between six and seven hundred women had just finished

their meal. A talkie apparatus was showing films of current events and cartoons on a screen decorated at the top with the flags of the United Nations. There was not the slightest trace of emotion. The audience was far more interested in Walt Disney's animated figures than in the sirens. Only the spotters left the room to go up on the roofs in order to give the warning for the factory to be cleared should the danger become imminent—and this would take only two minutes to do.

Such calm courage is clearly a special characteristic of the British race.

But I noticed another thing ; the woman who works is constantly on the defensive against any suggestion of an ant-like existence.

While her men colleagues fit up a trailer pump, an N.F.S. girl picks her way through the debris. Women are now co-operating with the men in fire-fighting.



She tries by every possible means to prevent her own personality becoming flattened by the compressor roller, shaping mass-production models in manufacture and in life.

The women in the factories have well-cared-for hands and hair, and they wear, whenever possible, pretty shoes. They have not given up their necklaces, nor their bracelets, nor their lipsticks. Most of them wear the regimental badges of their husbands, sons, or fiancés, on their overalls. Some of them even wear several . . . "Safety in numbers !" The ways of the feminine heart are so impenetrable.

Moralists may rail against such coquetry. Personally, I am grateful to these women for such innocent and gallant retaliation to the ugliness of war.

And when in a canteen for women making war-weapons I see a piano, a gramophone or a radio set, I am glad that these young music-lovers are not deprived of their sharps and flats. These are fortunately not as yet among the things which Lord Woolton has rationed. When questioned about the future, or about their personal plans, they show two strongly-opposed sets of ideas. Some, especially those subjected to the very strict military discipline of camp life, are homesick for their dishes, their mending and their cradles. Others, however, those in the factories—and they are by far the most numerous—wish to continue along the course they have chosen.

Yet these young women are not only concerned with their own personal fate, which would be reasonable enough, but are also anxious about the future of their country and that of the world. If I had to summarize in a word the predominant state of mind among them, I should say : "Impatient confidence." They know that we will win the war. They are the more certain of this because they are manufacturing the instruments of our victory, but they get impatient because it does not come quickly enough. And this impatience increases with the growing quantity of war material they are producing.

All over the country members of the Civil Nursing Reserve are doing valuable work in shelters, rest centres, hospitals.

ality
cium
hair,
given
st of
nches
ty in
le.
an
tion
see
ung
are
has
mal
ally
ife,
les.
the
en.
wn
lso
ld.
ng
we
re
mi
ce
re
mb
cor
to
ital





The Officers' Kit Replacement Society is kept busy supplying clothes of every description to officers who have lost their outfits through enemy action. A young New Zealander, attached to the Fleet Air Arm, receives tropical kit from Mrs. Matthews, of the W.V.S.



Mrs. Mary Couchman is a 24-year-old warden in a small Kentish town. This picture was taken during an actual raid, when this brave woman crouched over three frightened children caught in the street, to protect them from bomb splinters with her own body.

The feminine element, far more than the male, has undergone a far-reaching professional change in Great Britain. If the women wish to remain in the factories after the war, these factories will first have to transform their present production into one suited to peacetime. But that will not be enough. They will also have to find outlets for the stocks which will mount at an incredible rate, for the tools have reached gigantic proportions.

In this connection I have found the industrialists far more optimistic than the workers. The manager of one of the firms which had previously been manufacturing the luxurious sleeper restaurant-cars that make people begin to dream as they see them glide lightly and rapidly over the rails of the continental network, told me that it had only taken him sixty days, from the production in the drawing-office of the plans to the completion in the factory of the tank engines

which he is now making. I asked him how long it would take him to reverse the change-over. With the full agreement of the technical experts standing nearby, he told me—"Just one week." This optimism is not an isolated case, it is general.

It is clearly and generally understood that the world reconstruction of to-morrow cannot be achieved without a profound economic and social transformation.

Private interests, in countries such as England, are giving way more and more to those of the community. There is no longer room for privileges and class interests. The latter are certainly opposed to this tendency towards a form of society which must register the death certificate of its predecessor. There is, however, a growing movement towards production for the satisfaction of definite needs, and not only for profit.

The workers, imbued with a longing and love for democracy, feel that the trade unions to which they belong are playing a decisive and historic rôle in this evolution.

More and more in the future of Great Britain, women will play the rôle which they deserve, and they will play it well. Britain, defending her freedom, has contracted an immense debt of gratitude to the women. And so have we all.

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES

An Agency of the British Government.

NEW YORK	30, ROCKEFELLER PLAZA	CIRCLE 6-5100
WASHINGTON, D.C.	1,317, F. STREET	REPUBLIC 5393
CHICAGO	360, NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE	ANDOVER 1733
SAN FRANCISCO	260, CALIFORNIA STREET	SUTTER 6634

SPECIMEN OF BRITISH WAR
LITERATURE SUPPLIED FOR
RECORD PURPOSES ONLY



A Women's Royal Naval Service dispatch rider carries an urgent message to an Officer of a destroyer, which has just returned to port after patrol duties.

Ch. B.W. Min. of Information

DEFENSE

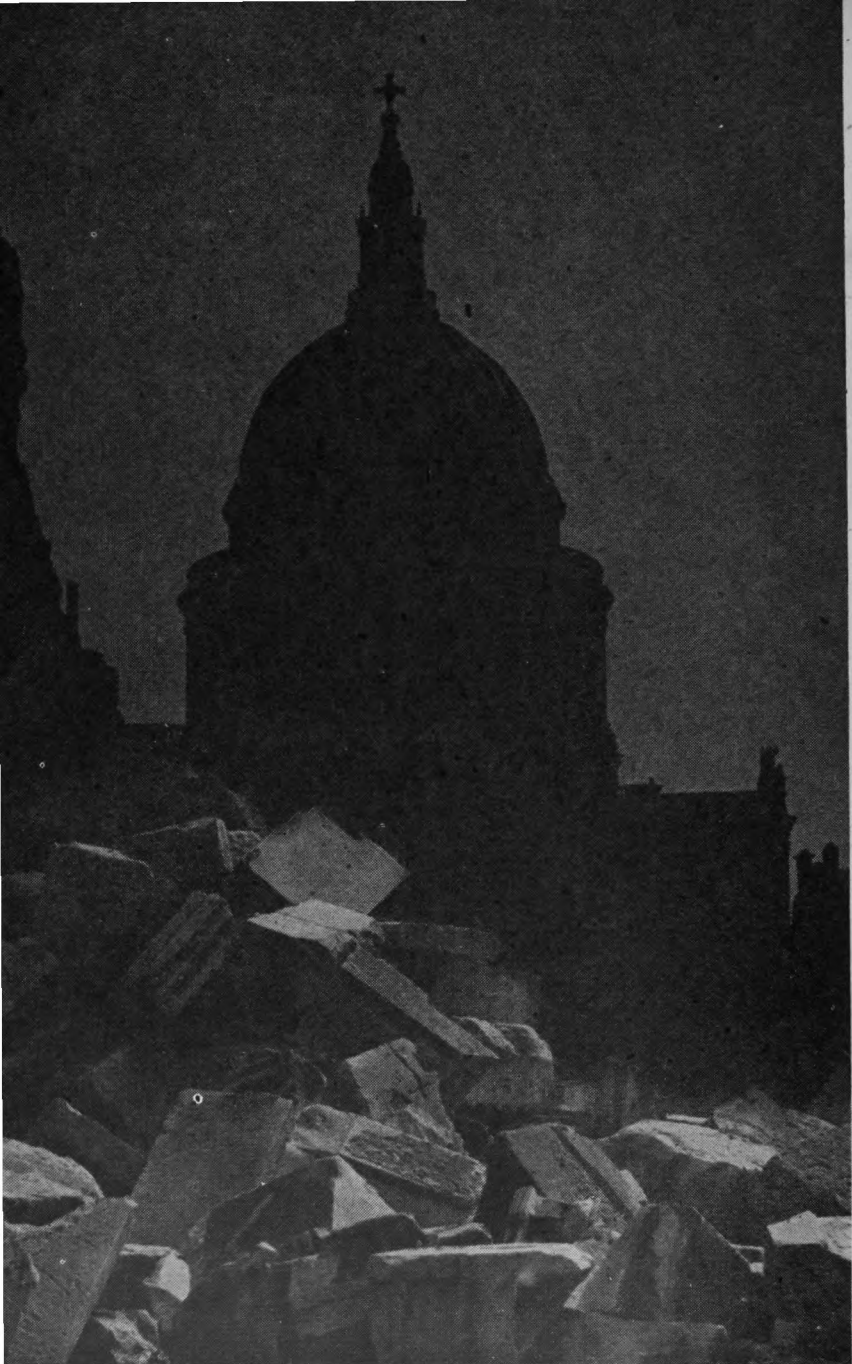
100

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LIBRARY
APR 30 1945
DOCUMENTS DIVISION

**FACTS ABOUT THE
UNITED KINGDOM'S
WAR EFFORT**

Jan 45

SPECIMEN OF BRITISH WAR
LITERATURE SUPPLIED FOR
RECORD PURPOSES ONLY.



London is scarred, but St. Paul's Cathedral stands symbolic of London's endurance.

INTRODUCTION

THIS BOOK SETS OUT in abridged form some of the great array of facts contained in the British Government White Paper entitled *Statistics Relating to the War Effort of the United Kingdom*. The following pages give a glimpse of the way in which the people of Britain mobilised for war all their available manpower and all their resources, and the price they have paid in terms of casualties both in human life and property, lowered standards of living, record taxes, and inconvenience—the “blood, toil, tears and sweat” of Churchill’s memorable phrase.

To see in its correct perspective the picture presented in this book it must be borne in mind that the accomplishments described were achieved under aerial attack and in the face of varying degrees of blockade. A total blackout has further added to the difficulties.

Apart from their daily war jobs, in factory, field, mine or office, the men, women and young people engaged on this war production have been, in their meagre leisure hours, called upon to perform duties in one or other of the services such as Civil Defence, Home Guard, and fire watching.

One fact that can never fully be expressed in figures is the immense contribution that British inventiveness has made to the total war effort—with radiolocation, Penicillin, the prefabricated invasion port scheme, and innumerable other technological advances that have helped to outarm and outfight the enemy.

The family circle, sacrosanct in times of peace, has been completely broken up in Britain’s mobilisation ; 22,000,000 good-byes have been said as men and women have departed into the Armed Forces or have been directed away from their homes into war plants dispersed all over the country to deny the enemy concentrated targets.

It is under these conditions, sustained for over five years—for some part of which Britain, with the rest of the Commonwealth and Empire, fought alone—that the total war effort of the United Kingdom has reached a peak which can fairly be said to represent the greatest contribution per head of the population exacted from the people of any country in this war.



Men of the 1892 age group register for war work.



Women of 21 register for call-up into industry and the Forces.

MANPOWER

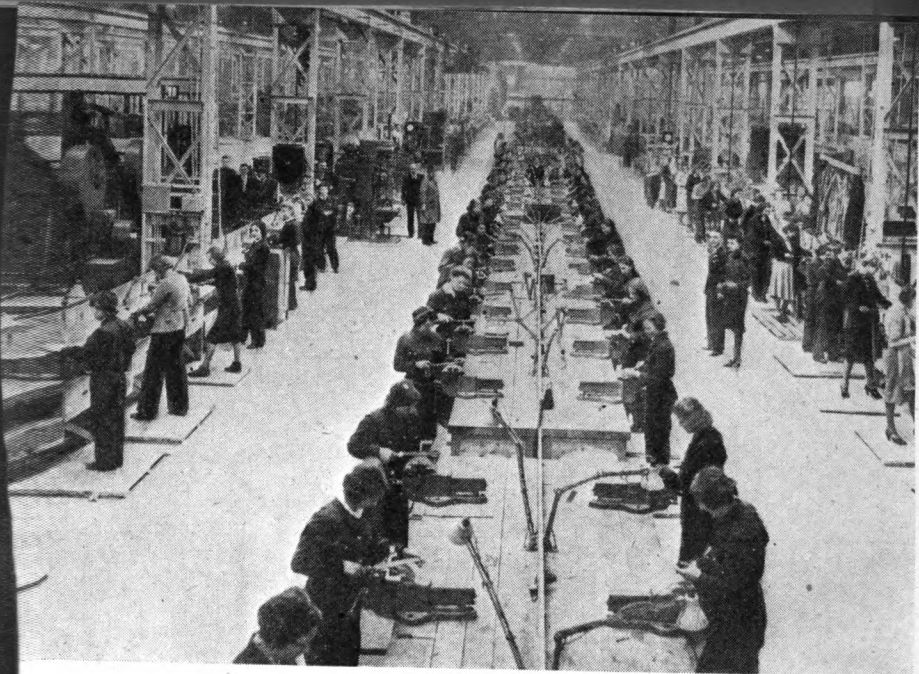


1 Of over thirty million people who come within the Government war-time registration schemes, about one-third are in the Armed Forces, full-time Civil Defence or munitions industries, and one-third in basic industries or vital Services. Most of the remainder are housewives who are already looking after war-workers and children and have no time left to work outside their homes.

2 This labour was distributed in June 1944 as follows :

- 47 per cent. *Forces, Civil Defence, munitions.*
- 26 per cent. *Agriculture, mining, national and local Government, heat, light and water, transport, food, etc.*
- 27 per cent. *Building (including airfields, barracks, etc.), civil engineering, clothing, distribution of goods and all other essential civilian needs.*

3 Over three-quarters of the labour in manufacturing industries, other than mining, is engaged on Government work. Only one-fifth is used on work for civilian needs. All that is left of this labour for making goods for the export trade is four per cent., i.e., one-twenty-fifth.



Women munition workers stand for long hours at the bench.



Training women to take the place of skilled men called up for military service.

MOBILISATION OF MEN

- 4 Less than half a million men of the United Kingdom were serving in the Armed Forces at the beginning of the war, but by the middle of 1944 the figure was more than nine times as large and stood at four and a half million. The total number of men who have served or are serving (taking account of casualties and releases on medical and other grounds) is over five and a half million.



- 5 Of all men between 18 and 40, 57 per cent. have served or are serving in the Armed Forces ; most of the remainder are making munitions.
- 6 Besides those men serving with the Forces many others are serving full time in the National Fire Service, A.R.P. Services, Casualty Services, regular and auxiliary Police. At the height of enemy air attacks in 1941 the number of men so engaged was 324,000.
- 7 In June 1944 the number of men serving full time in Civil Defence (225,000) was still nearly three times what it had been in June 1939.
- 8 Between 1939 and 1944 the number of men aged 14 to 64 in the munitions industries alone rose by 600,000. During the same period over three million men were withdrawn from industries catering for civilian needs.



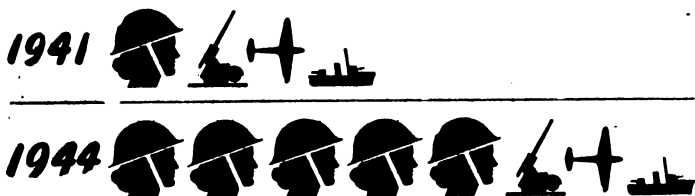
Girls on a mixed anti-aircraft battery identify enemy planes.



Women have been trained as skilled operators to work in Britain's shipyards.

- 9** In June 1944 three million men were doing part-time service in the Home Guard or in Civil Defence in addition to their other work.

MOBILISATION OF WOMEN



- 10** The number of women in the Auxiliary Services of the Navy, Army and Air Force had increased from just over 100,000 in June 1941 to nearly 500,000 by June 1944.

- 11** By the middle of 1944, 350,000 women were doing part-time work in Civil Defence and 900,000 were doing part-time work in industry.

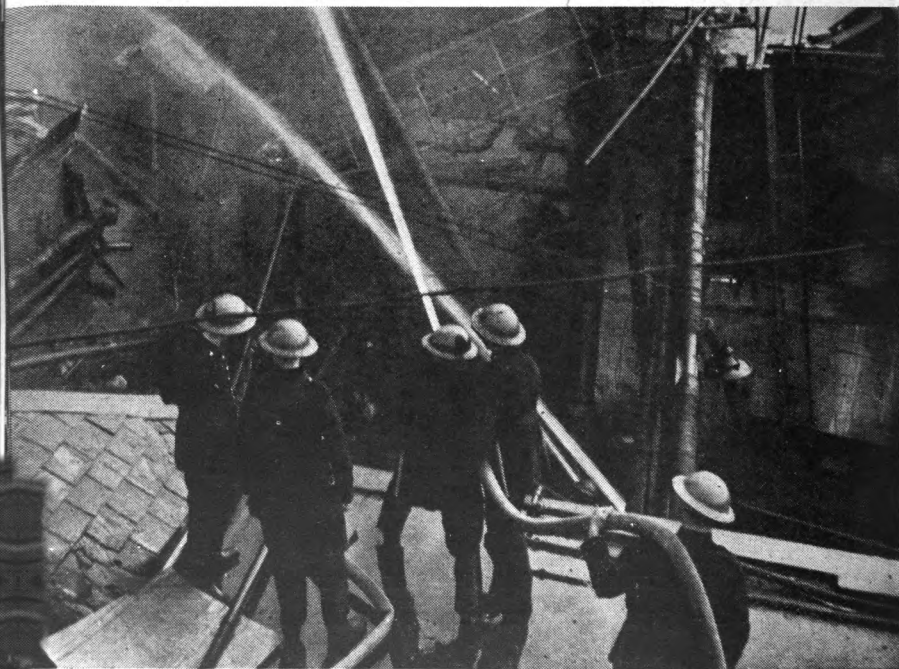
- 12** The number of women making munitions in 1944 was nearly four times as great as in 1939.



- 13** Of all women between 18 and 40—whether single, married or widowed—55 per cent. were in the Services or industry during 1943.



A battery of rocket guns beats off a Luftwaffe attack.

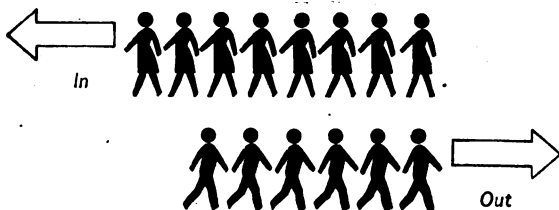


Fires caused by air attack sometimes slowed, but never stopped, war production.

MUNITIONS (GENERAL)

- 14** The number of persons working in the munitions industries on orders for the Admiralty, Ministry of Supply and Ministry of Aircraft Production, in January 1944, was more than half as much again as in January 1941.

BASIC INDUSTRIES



- 15** 600,000 men have been withdrawn from the basic industries (agriculture, mining, Government service, transport, etc.) and partly replaced by 800,000 women.
- 16** Local Government service has been restricted. National Government service has had to be extended. Over all, men are fewer by 94,000. But the number of women in these services has risen from half a million to a million.

OTHER INDUSTRIES

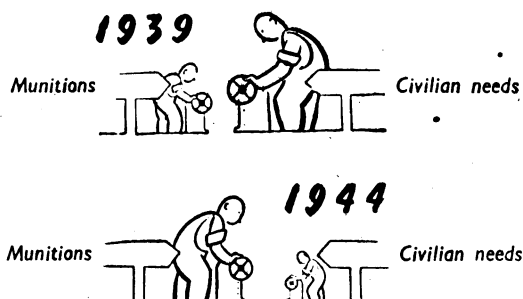
- 17** In the industries catering for essential civilian needs the total labour force of men and women has been reduced by more than one-third—from over nine millions to six millions



A flying bomb hits a busy thoroughfare and rescue squads remove the casualties.

18 Nearly three million men have been withdrawn from the building, clothing, and other industries catering for civilians. More than half the number of men recruited to the Armed Forces have come from these industries.

19 Women who must remain near their homes have been given work in local industries catering for civilian needs, to replace those men and women who have been called away to more vital war work.



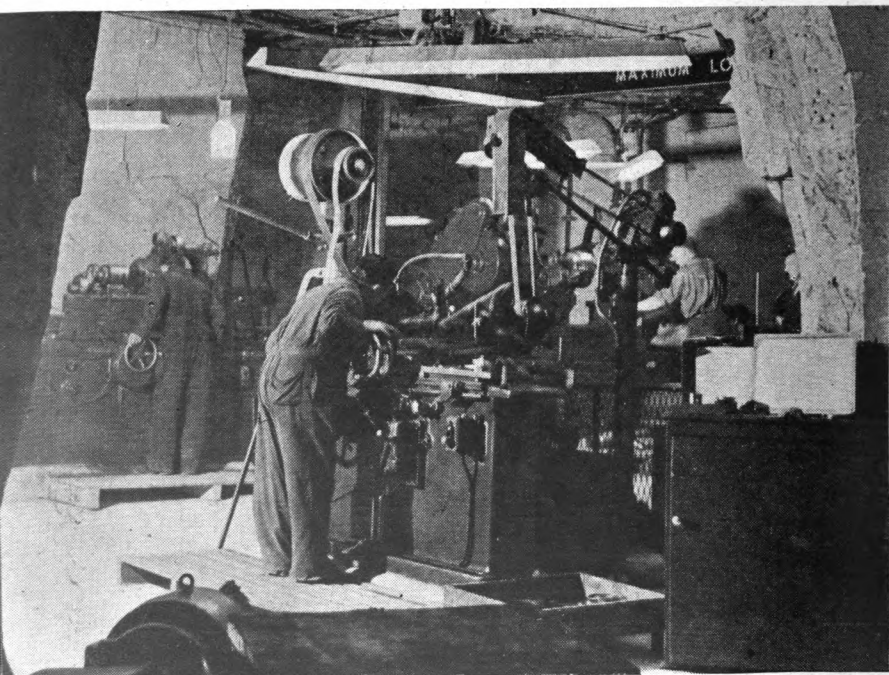
20 One-half of the greatly reduced labour force still available to civilian industries is working on Government orders, and one-half on goods for civilian consumption.

21 The number of men employed in building and civil engineering has been reduced by 52 per cent. from 1,294,000 to 600,000.

22 Although at less than half their pre-war strength those remaining in the building and civil engineering industries have included in their work airfield construction, the building of barracks for British and American soldiers, A.R.P. defences and new war factories.



Some of the 10,018 heavy bombers Britain built between September 1939 and June 1944.



Safe from Luftwaffe attacks, this is one of Britain's underground war factories.

COMPARISON BETWEEN 1918 AND 1944

23 The mobilisation of men 14 to 64 and women 14 to 59 in two wars :—

	1918	June 1944
Forces, full-time Civil Defence	4,700,000	5,250,000
Munitions	3,030,000	5,060,000

STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES

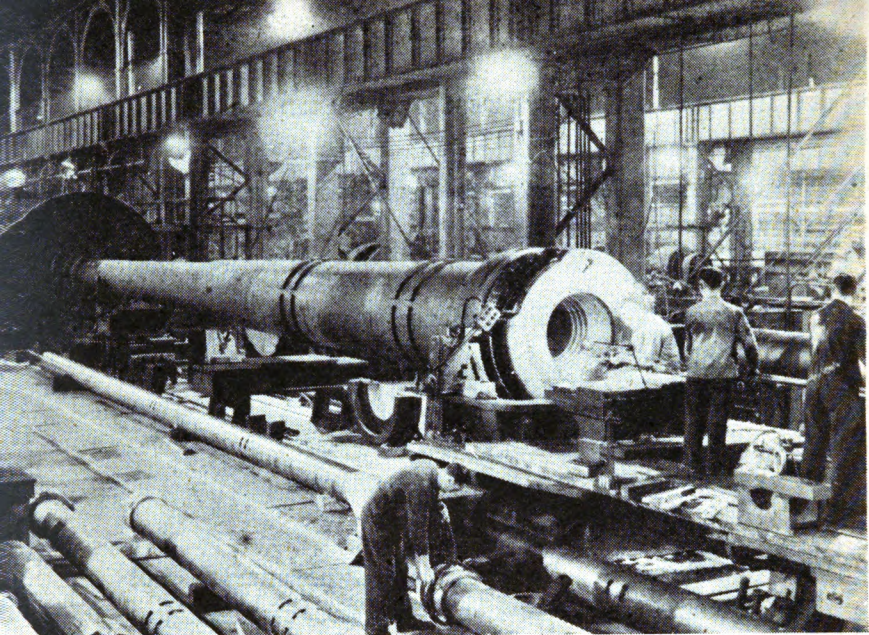
24 The total strength of the British Commonwealth and Empire Forces in June 1944 was 8,713,000, of which just over a half were from the United Kingdom.

25 Of the men enlisted in British Armies who have served or are still serving all over the world, the United Kingdom alone supplied more than 5,500,000, out of the British Commonwealth and Empire total of about 10,000,000 men.

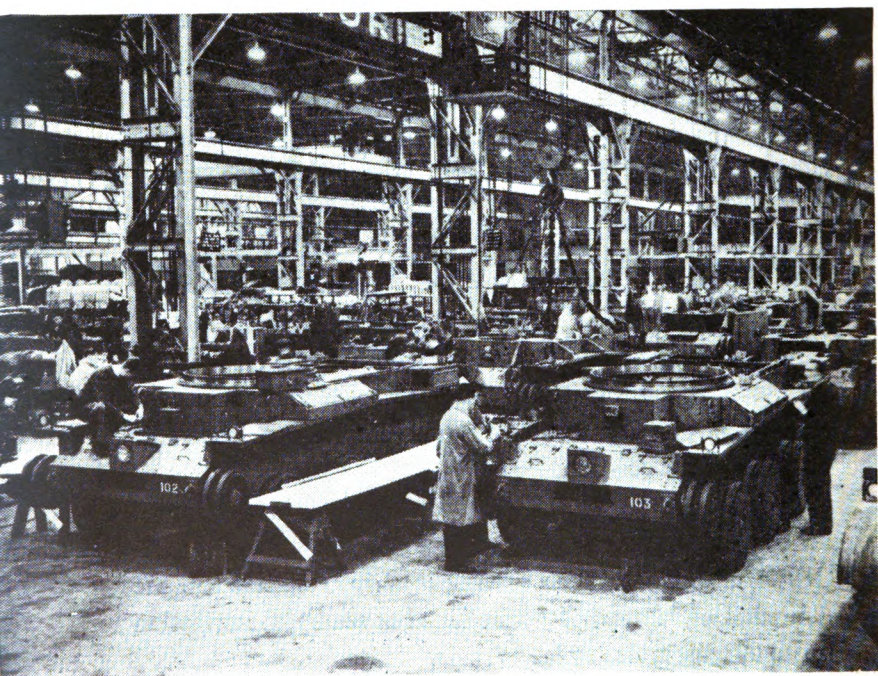
CASUALTIES

26 The casualties of the United Kingdom Armed Forces in the first five years of war totalled 563,000. The casualties for the rest of the Commonwealth and Empire over the same period totalled 363,000.

27 Of the merchant seamen serving in ships registered in the United Kingdom, 29,629 were killed at sea by enemy action up to August 31st, 1944.



Testing for accuracy after boring the barrel of a 16-inch naval gun.



Tanks roll off the production lines in ever-increasing numbers.

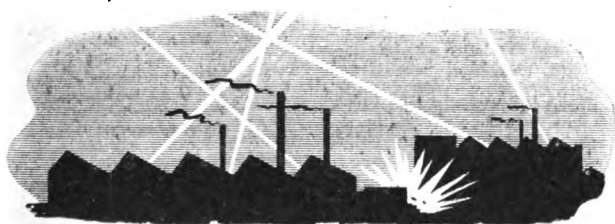
28 More than 57,000 civilians were killed by aerial bombardment in the United Kingdom up to the end of August 1944.

Of these :

26,291 were men ; 23,757 were women ; 7,250 were children.

29 The total killed, injured and detained in hospital was 136,116.

HOME PRODUCTION



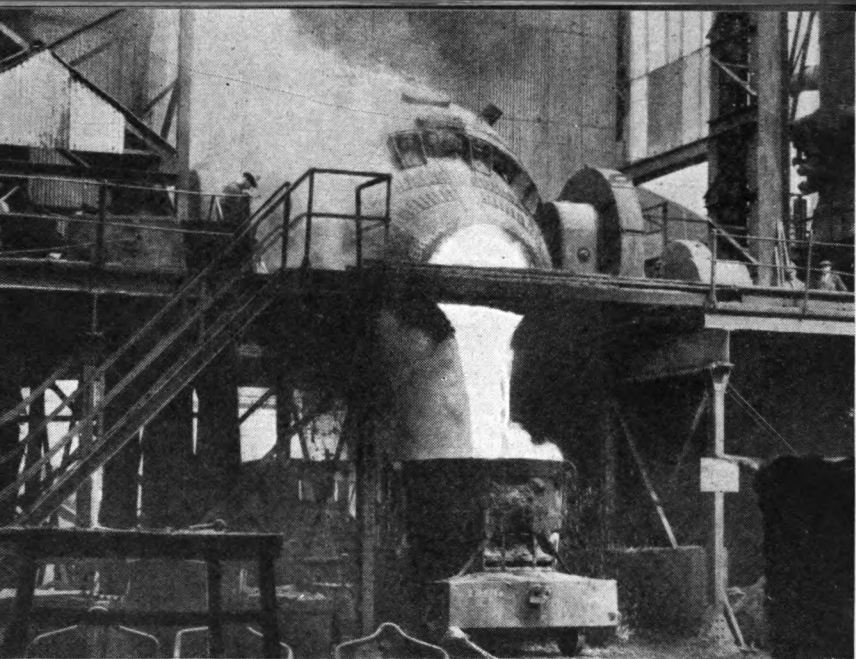
30 For more than five years the men and women of the United Kingdom have lived and worked under complete blackout. During long periods they have carried on under constant and severe air attack.

31 The monthly output of munitions (including naval and merchant vessels, aircraft and warlike stores) in the first half of 1944 was about six times as great as at the outbreak of war.

1939



1944



Steel from Britain's foundries, the raw material for armaments.



Women prepare ammunition for final examination before it is issued to the troops.

32 Of the total munitions for the British Commonwealth of Nations, about

70 per cent. was produced in the United Kingdom,
10 per cent. came from other Empire countries, and
20 per cent. from the United States of America.

33 One-fifth of the munitions supplied by the United States was paid for in cash by Britain.

34 For every large warship that was completed in the early months of the war three and a half warships were completed in a similar period in 1944.

35 Of the smaller naval craft, for every one that was completed in the early months of the war 62 were completed in a similar period in 1944.



36 For every naval gun made in the early months of the war 16 were made in a similar period in 1944, and for every torpedo made in 1939 six and a half were made in 1944.

37 For every tank or armoured vehicle made in the early months of the war $11\frac{1}{2}$ were made in a similar period in 1944.

38 The ratio for rifles was $11\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.



The greatest battleship ever launched from a British yard takes the water.

39 Telephones were supplied for the Army at the rate of 3,300 a month at the beginning of the war, but in 1944 supplies were at the rate of 11,000 a month.

40 In 1942, 88,400 panels for Bailey bridges were made; three times as many were made in 1943.

41 In 1942, 7,200,000 square yards of aircraft landing track was made; nearly four times this quantity was made in 1943.

42 For every single heavy bomber built in Britain in 1940 (41 in all) over 112 were built in 1943, and during the first six months of 1944 the ratio was increased to over 140.

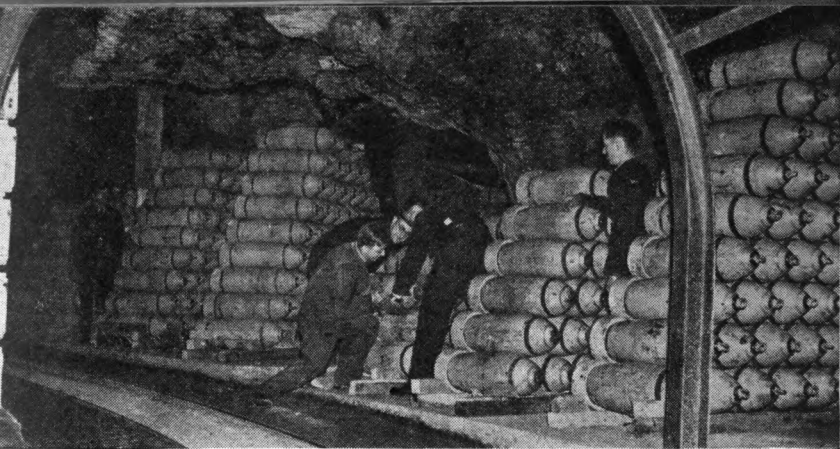
43 For every single naval aircraft Britain built in 1940 (476 in all) she built three and half in 1943. During the first six months of 1944 the ratio was increased to six and a half.

44 From the beginning of the war up to the middle of 1944, 38,025 fighters had been built in the United Kingdom.

45 Aircraft receiving major repairs in the
United Kingdom in 1941 totalled 12,131

The number repaired in 1943 was . . . 17,932

In the first half of 1944 aircraft
were being repaired at the rate
of 1,534 a month, or more than 18,000 a year



Huge underground dumps of munitions are dotted all over Britain.



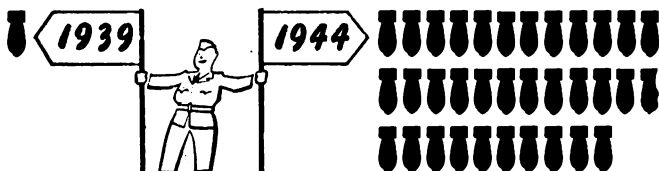
Britain became a vast supply base. Parked lorries await the "D-Day" order.



Saving shipping space by cutting the timber that grows in Britain's countryside.

46 The average monthly output of aero-engines at the end of 1939 was 1,130. The monthly average at the beginning of 1944 was 5,270.

47 During the first five years of war, not only were many more aero-engines made but the power of engines was doubled.



48 At the beginning of the war little over 1,100 tons * of bombs were made per month. In 1943 monthly production was 23 times as great, and in 1944 it was 34 times as great.

RAW MATERIALS



49 The home production of timber in 1943 was more than four times that of 1939.

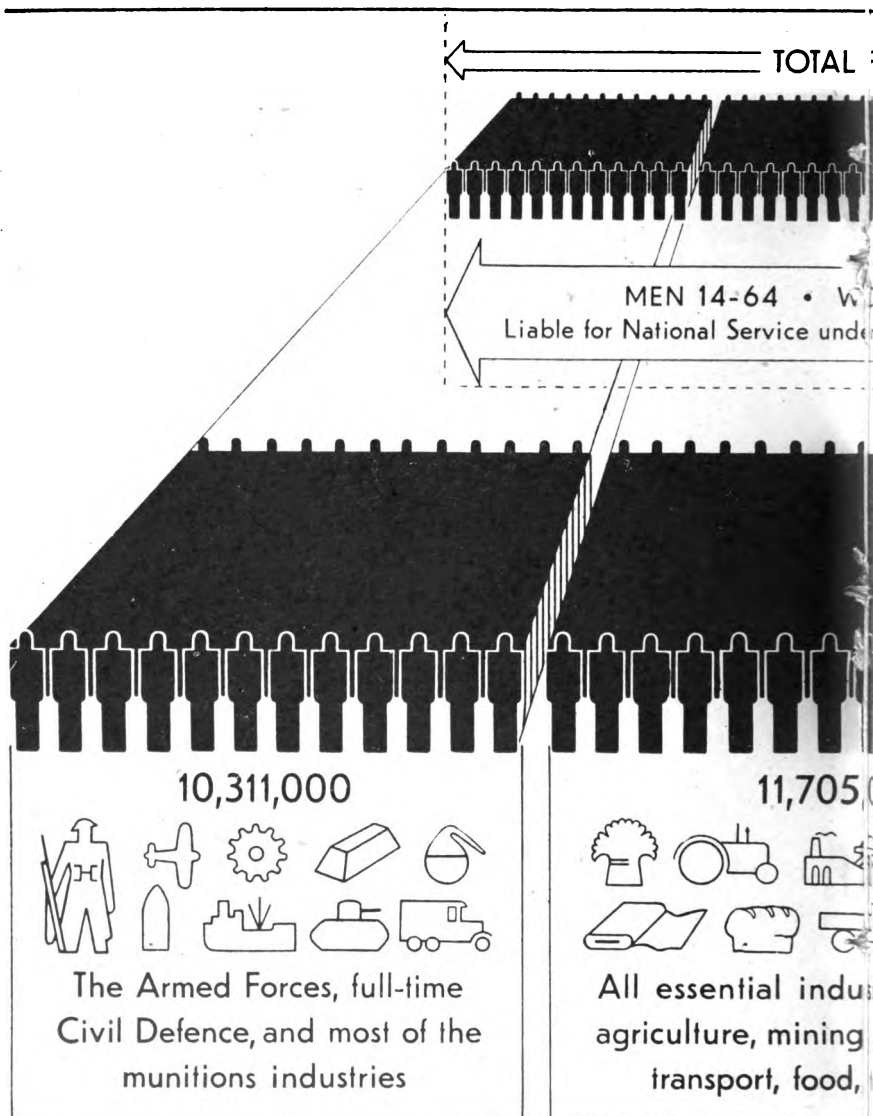
1939	880,000 tons
1943	3,821,000 tons
<i>(Hardwood, softwood and pitwood)</i>	

50 Imports of timber were down by five million tons :

1939	6,698,000 tons
1943	1,708,000 tons
<i>(Hardwood, softwood and pitwood)</i>	

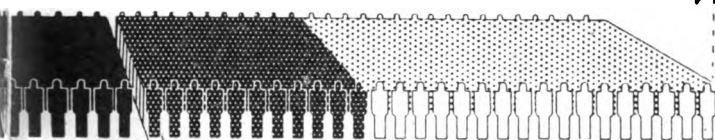
* Throughout this booklet (except in item 63) "ton" means the English ton of 2,240 lb.

Britain's total mobilisation of

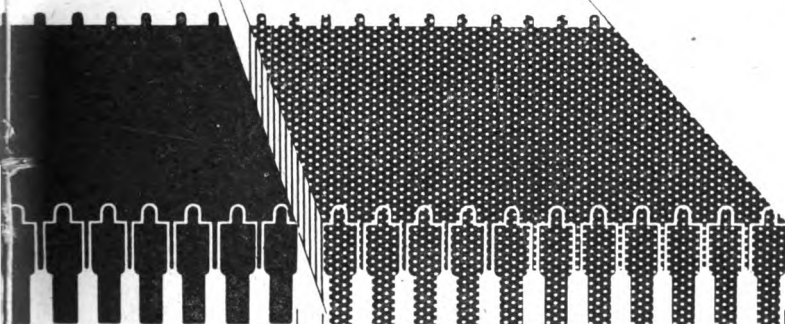


all employable manpower

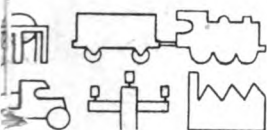
POPULATION 46,750,000



WOMEN 14-59
for the registration scheme



000



Industries including
public utilities,
textiles, etc.

9,914,000



Mainly housewives
not conscripted. They
take care of young children
and keep house for men and
women war workers

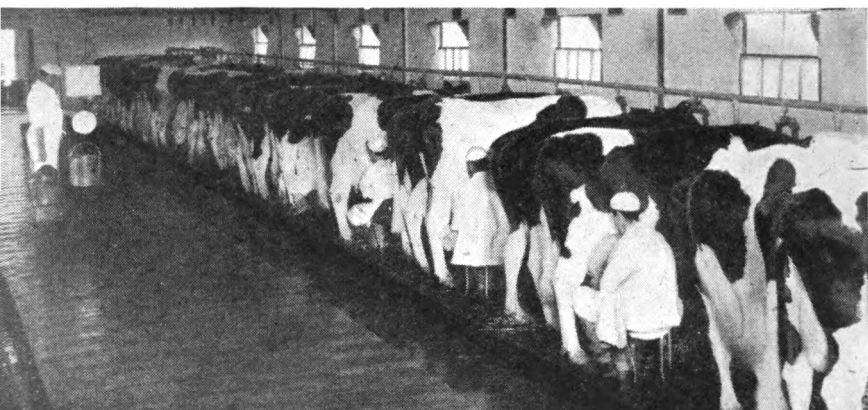


★ Persons outside the compulsory registration scheme

MEN OVER 64 • WOMEN OVER 59 • CHILDREN UNDER 14



The farms worked by night in the drive to increase Britain's food production.



Increased milk production ; children, mothers, mothers-to-be, invalids take priority.



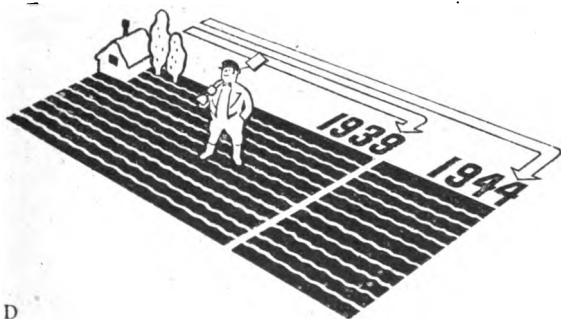
London parks' new allotments, where war workers spend their leisure producing food.

51 Home production of iron ore increased by four million tons—from $14\frac{3}{4}$ million to $18\frac{3}{4}$ million—between 1939 and 1943. Imports of iron ore were reduced by nearly three and a half million tons—from five and a quarter million to less than two million—in the same period.

52 So that as much as possible of the limited shipping-space available could be used for the import of vital munitions, etc., some home industries requiring imported materials had to be cut down. For example, newsprint manufacture was cut down by 85 per cent., cotton yarn manufacture by 40 per cent.

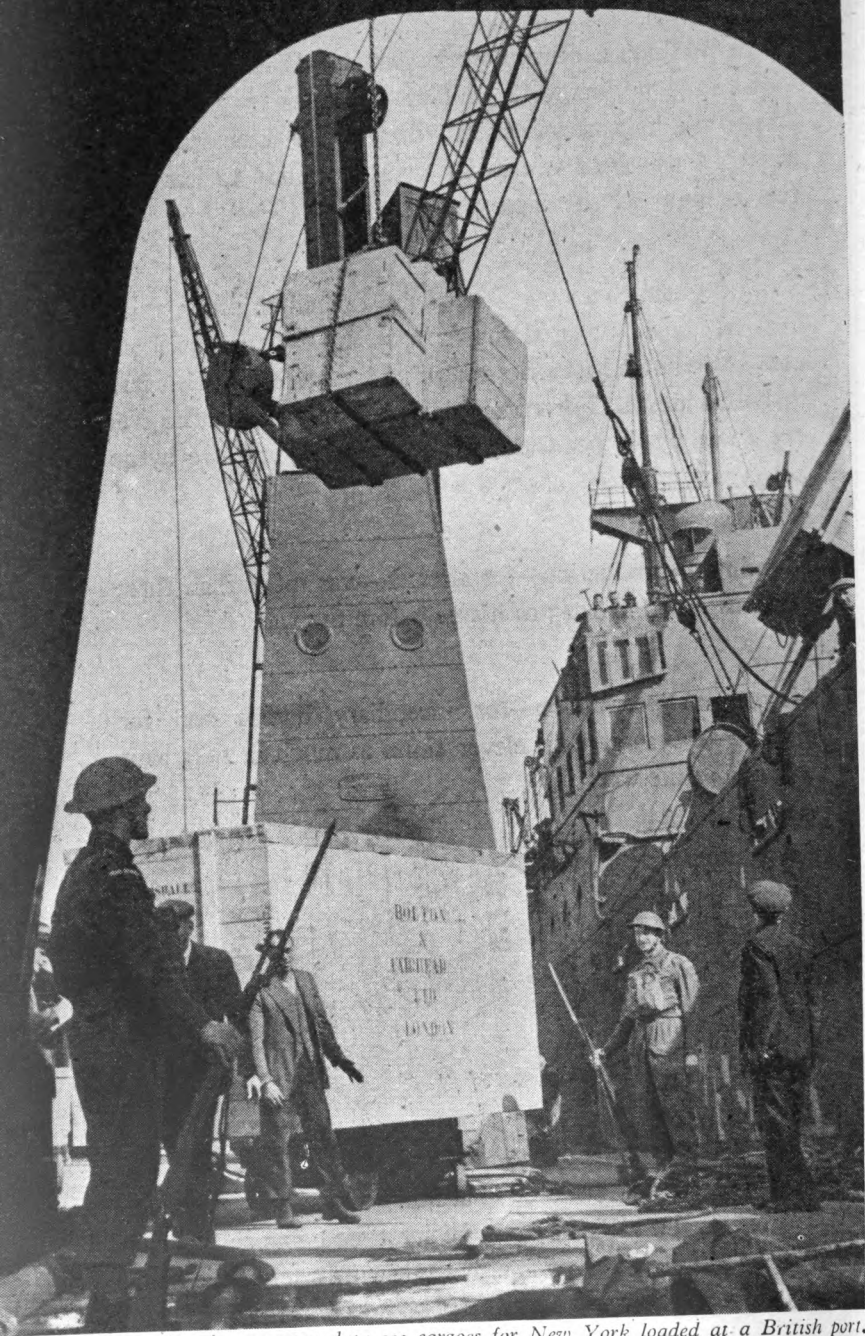
53 Aluminium production—for aircraft—was more than three times as much in 1943 as it was before the war.

54 Magnesium production—for incendiary bombs and for aircraft—was more than eleven times as much in 1943 as it was before the war.



FOOD

55 To increase the output of food at home and so save shipping space, six and a half million more acres are being cultivated. This is an increase of 50 per cent. over the total of the land in Britain which was under the plough before the war.

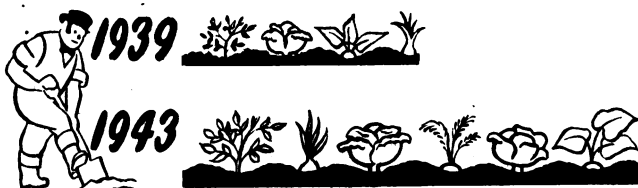


Home Guards on sentry duty see cargoes for New York loaded at a British port.

56 The quantity of wheat and potatoes harvested in 1943 was more than double the pre-war average. The output of sugar beet and vegetables was increased by more than one-third.

57 Home production of food has increased by 70 per cent. Imports of food have been cut by half, so that half the ships previously used for importing food can be put to war service.

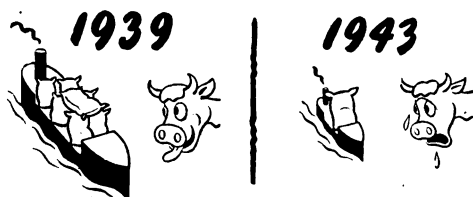
58 100,000 men have had to leave the farms, but 80,000 women have partly replaced them. Thousands of school children and adults have spent their holidays working on the land.



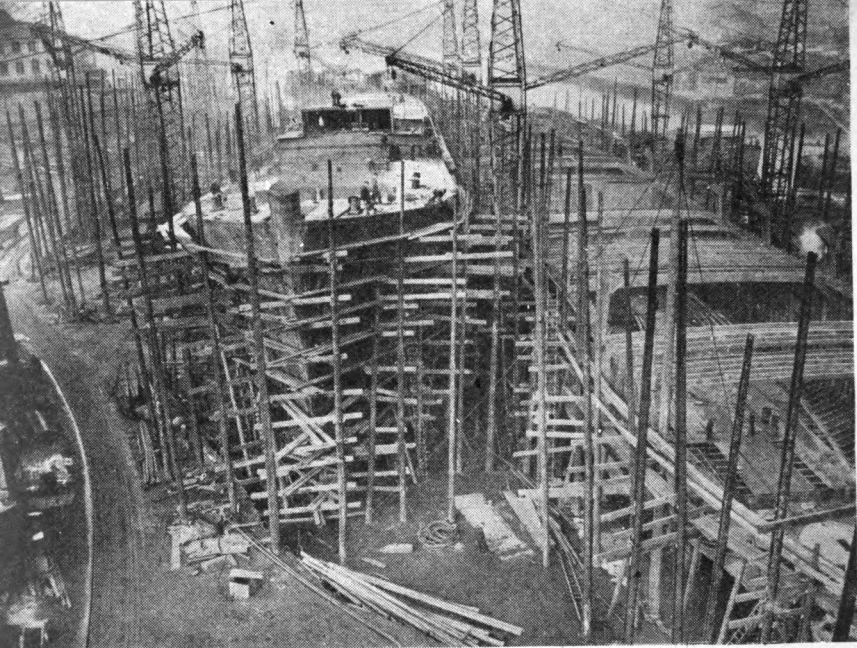
59 Public land being used to grow vegetables for private use :

Before the war : 800,000 plots

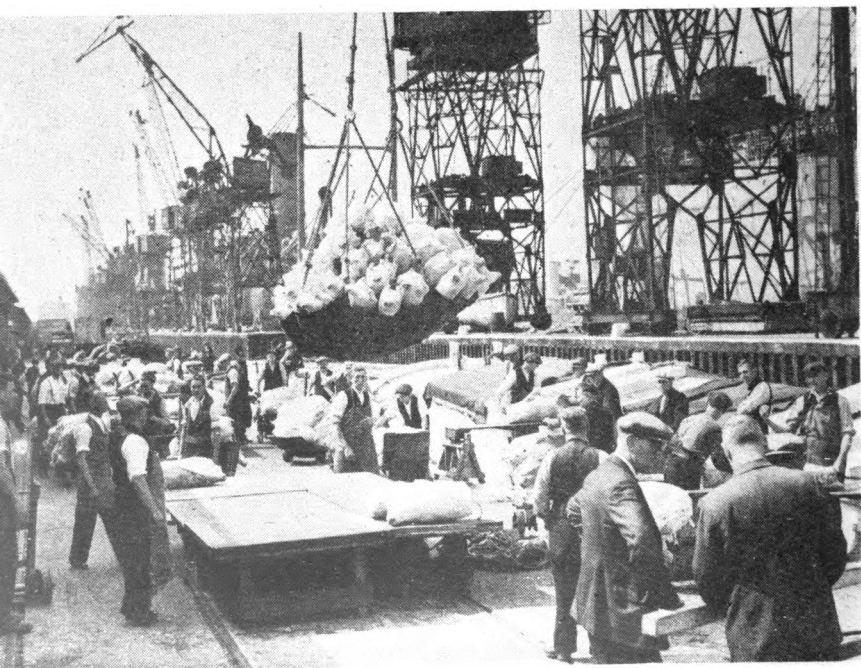
1943 : 1,500,000 plots.



60 To save shipping, imports of animal food-stuffs have been reduced from 8,750,000 tons to 1,250,000 tons. Larger quantities of fodder crops grown at home have helped to maintain milk production, but meat, poultry and eggs have had to be curtailed.



Completed in only 5½ months, this 10,000-ton merchant ship gets its last coat of paint.



Often under attack from the Luftwaffe, London's docks still managed to carry on.

61 Britain has fewer sheep, pigs and poultry, because of decreased imports of animal feeding-stuffs. The number of pigs is less than half what it was before the war. These figures show the extent of the decrease :

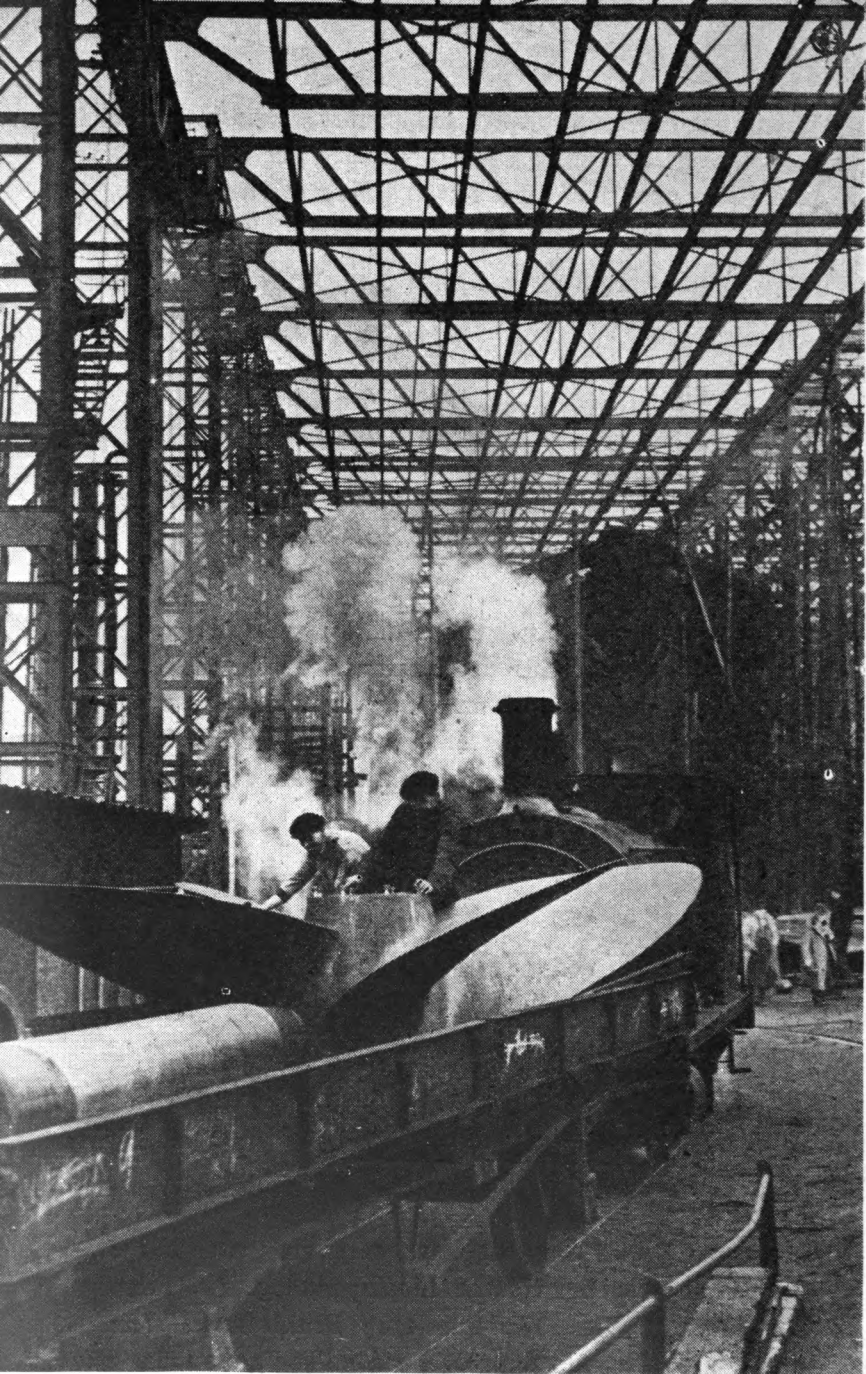
Sheep and lambs	1939	26,900,000
	1944	20,300,000
Pigs	1939	4,400,000
	1944	1,900,000
Poultry	1939	74,400,000
	1944	55,200,000

62 Landings of fish are less than one-third of what they were before the war—and this is the reason : Of the deep-sea trawler fleet, 66 per cent. is on war service, and of the steam drifter fleet 75 per cent. is on war service. Many of the motor vessels normally engaged in fishing are also on war service.

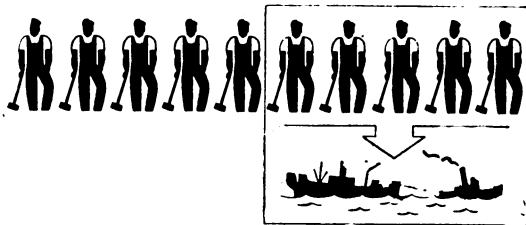
SHIPPING & FOREIGN TRADE



63 Losses to British shipping have been greater than the losses of all Allied and Neutral shipping put together. From September 1939 to December 1943 British losses were nearly 3,000 ships, totalling over 11½ million gross tons.



Britain's shipyards have broken their records for new ships and repair of damaged ones.



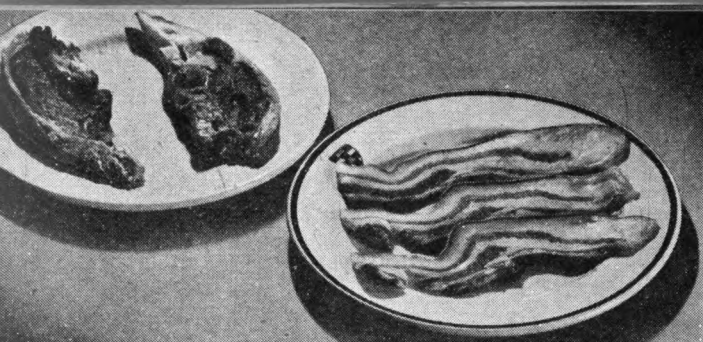
64 In the United Kingdom half of all the manpower in merchant shipyards (from 1940 to 1943) was engaged on repair work, yet new merchant tonnage was completed at a greater rate than during the first world war.

65 Only those foods, raw materials and finished goods have been brought into the United Kingdom which are absolutely necessary for the war effort and minimum civilian needs. In 1942 and 1943 these imports were less than half what they were before the war.

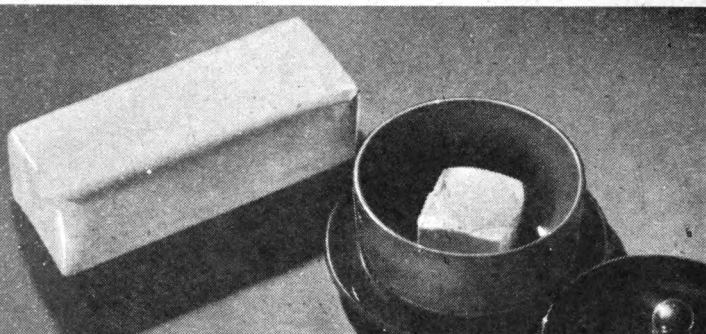
66 The import of finished dry goods, which before the war totalled seven million tons a year, was only two million tons in 1943—and nearly all of it munitions.



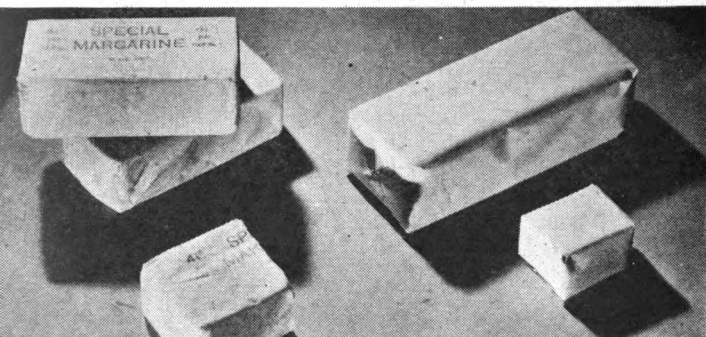
67 The imports of fruit and vegetables in 1943 were only one-eighth of their pre-war level.



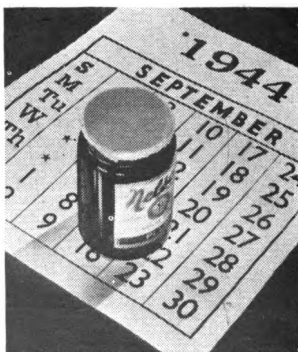
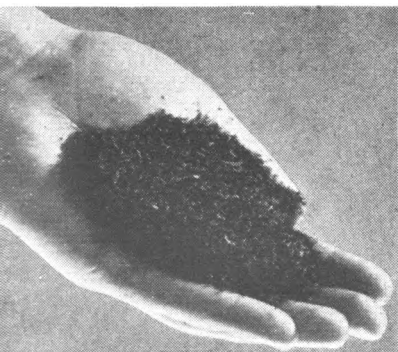
Meat and bacon ration for one person for a week.



Butter ration for one person contrasted with 1 lb. packet.



Margarine and cooking fat rations for a week contrasted with 1 lb. packet.



One person's tea ration for a week and jam ration for a month.

68 Britain used to import over three-quarters of a million tons of scrap a year. Now this kind of import has practically ceased. The collection at home of scrap for steel-making has increased by two million tons a year.

69 Britain has sacrificed most of her export trade. As little manpower can be spared for anything other than war work, the quantity of exports has been reduced by more than two-thirds.

70 1,915,000 tons of iron and steel manufactures were exported in 1938, and only 134,000 tons in 1943.

71 Coal is normally one of Britain's principal exports. In 1943 coal export (other than coal for use in ships) was less than one-tenth of what it was before the war.

72 Machinery exported in 1943 amounted to less than one-third of the 1938 figure.



73 The export of motor-cars has stopped. (The number of motor-cars exported in 1938 was 44,123.)



Rations are obtained only on presentation of the customer's ration book.



Many British fishermen are fighting ; fish supplies are small and irregular.



The Clothing Ration Book has cut the British people's clothing purchases by half.

CIVILIAN CONSUMPTION

74 The average consumption of butter, fresh meat, sugar and fresh fruit, taken together, per head of the population has been almost halved.

75 The average consumption of margarine, canned meat, potatoes and flour, taken together, per head of the population is about one-third higher than before the war.



76 The average number of shell eggs eaten before the war was three and a quarter per head per week. In 1943 the amount available to adult civilians was just over half of one egg per week—less than one-sixth of what it was in 1939.

77 For every 10 pieces of clothing bought in 1938 only 5.5 were bought in 1943.

78 For every 10 pairs of boots and shoes bought in 1938 only 7.3 were bought in 1943.

79 For every 10 pieces of furniture and furnishings bought in 1938 only 2.3 were bought in 1943.

80 For every 10 items of hardware bought in 1938 only 3.3 were bought in 1943.

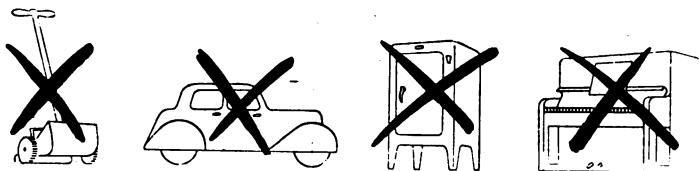


Empty roads, no petrol being used except for official purposes and essential services.



This was a street of happy homes until the Luftwaffe came.

81 For every 10 cars or bicycles bought in 1938 only 1.1 were bought in 1943.



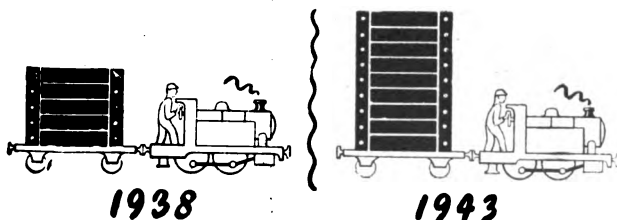
82 These are among the many articles no longer made at all :
Motor-cars, refrigerators, pianos, vacuum cleaners and lawn mowers.

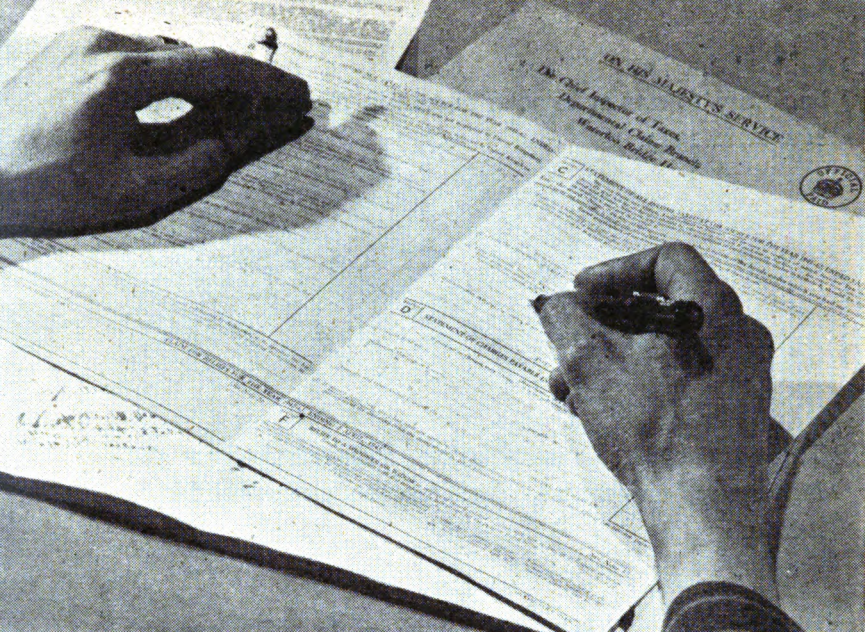
83 For every 27 armchairs and settees made before the war only one is made to-day.

84 The manufacture of trunks, suit cases, etc., is less than one-eighth of what it was before the war.

RAILWAYS

85 Apart from the transport of minerals and coal, the weight of goods carried on the railways has almost doubled since 1938.





The Income Tax payer provides a large part of Britain's war expenditure.



Collection night in a village inn, the centre of the village War Savings group.

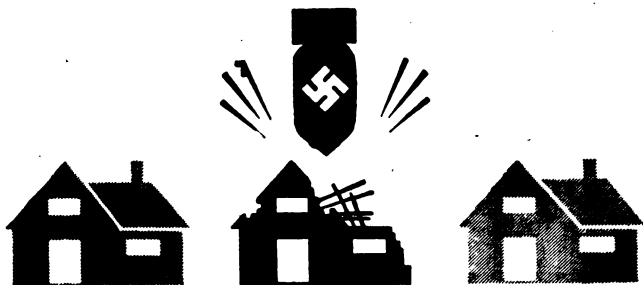
86 Journeys made by workmen on the main-line railways averaged 222 million a year before the war, and they had increased to 318 million in 1943.

ROADS

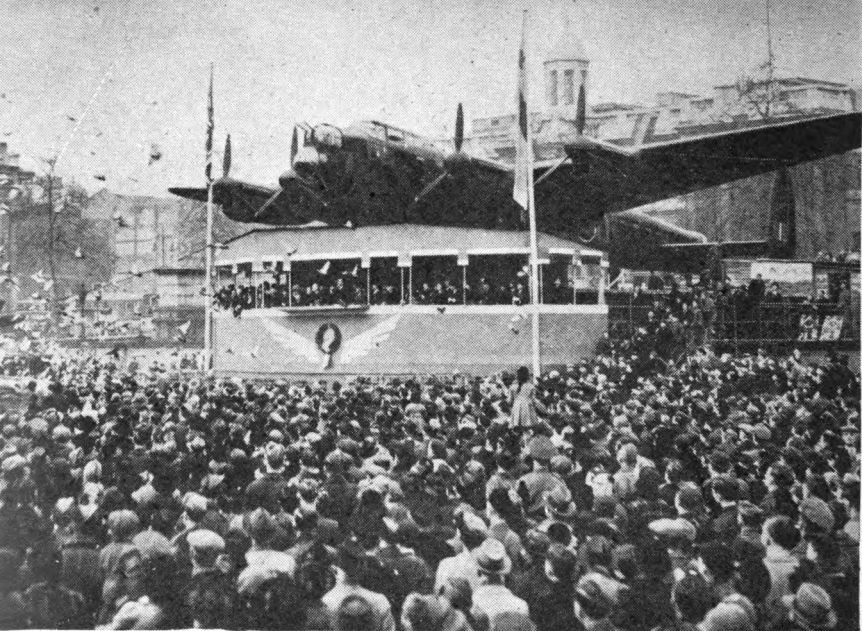
87 For every 10 motor-cars licensed before the war only three and a half were licensed at the beginning of 1944, and these could get only about one-third of the petrol they used previously.

88 By the summer of 1941 the total mileage of all bus routes was reduced by 40 per cent. Over the whole country the number of passengers carried has increased by nearly 20 per cent. The number of passengers carried by some bus routes undertakings increased by 50 per cent.

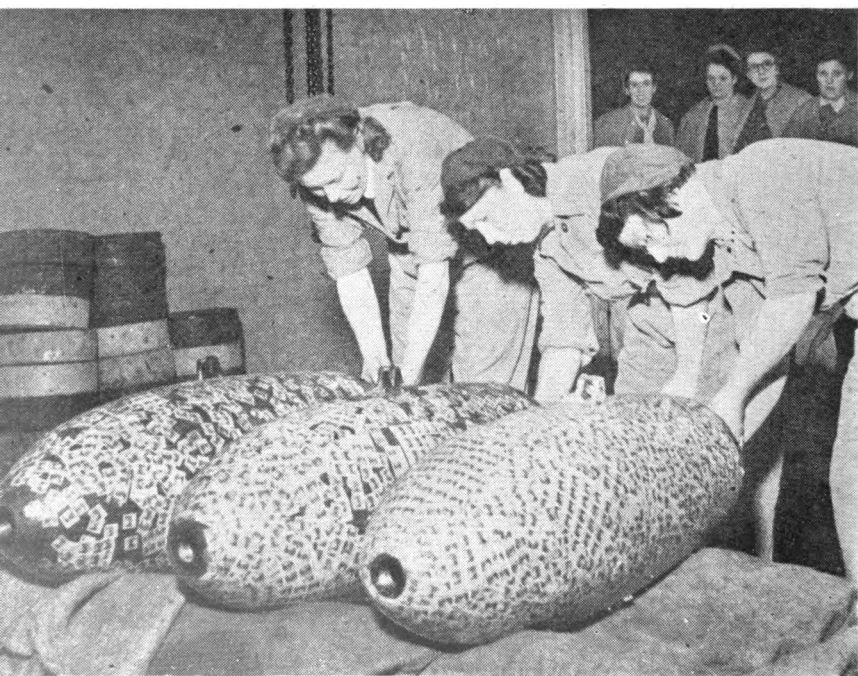
HOMES



89 One in every three houses in the United Kingdom has been damaged by enemy action (four and a half million out of 13 million houses). By the end of September 1944 one house in every 28 had been destroyed or made totally uninhabitable.



London's Trafalgar Square during a "Wings for Victory" War Savings drive.



During a Savings Week, bombs for Germany were covered with War Savings stamps.

FINANCE

90 Over £1,000 million of overseas assets have been sold and £2,300 million of overseas liabilities incurred.

91 The Government spent over four times more in 1943 than in 1938 and nearly all this increase was to meet the cost of the war.

TAXATION



92 In 1943 the British people paid two and a half times as much Income Tax as in the year before the war.

The totals were : 1938 £472 million
 1943 £1,169 million

93 How the Government obtained its money in 1943.

Taxation and Government income from property, etc., provided	50 per cent.
Personal, business and public savings provided	34 per cent.
Realisation of assets provided	14 per cent.
Borrowings of sums allowed as compensation for war damage (the money cannot yet be used for rebuilding)	2 per cent.



In schools, children make weekly contributions to their War Savings Groups.



The securities the "small" saver holds for the thousands of millions of pounds he has lent his Government.

1939 

1944 



94 Before the war about one million manual wage earners paid £3,000,000 Income Tax. In 1943-4 seven million manual wage earners paid £200,000,000 Income Tax.

95 Other taxpayers numbered three million before the war and paid £333,000,000. To-day they number six million and pay £983,000,000 in Income Tax.

EXAMPLES OF INCREASED TAXATION

96 Married couple with two children :

Earning	£500 pre-war paid	£8
		now pay £76 in Income Tax
Earning	£1,000 pre-war paid	£112
		now pay £301 in Income Tax
Earning	£10,000 pre-war paid	£4,079
		now pay £6,782 in Income Tax

97 Business profits have been taxed since the war as well as private incomes. Increased profits were taxed at 60 per cent. in 1939, and this tax rose to 100 per cent. in 1940.

EXAMPLES OF INCREASED INDIRECT TAXATION

98 The tax on beer and tobacco in 1943 produced £600 million, which was about two-thirds of the total Government revenue in a single year before the war.

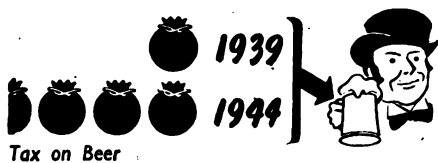
99 Total receipts from indirect taxation were nearly three times as great in 1943 as before the war. They rose from £371 million to £1,026 million.



A long farewell to his little daughter before entraining for overseas.



Tax on Cigarettes



Tax on Beer

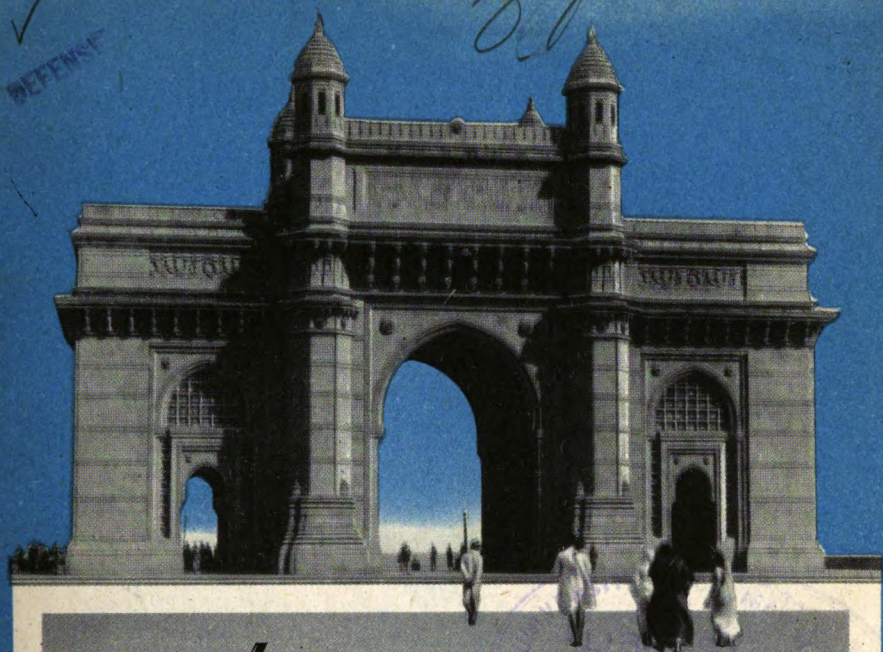
100 The duty on beer which was $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. per pint before the war has been increased to $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pint. The duty on 20 cigarettes which was $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. before the war has been increased to 1s. 9d.—nearly four times what it was—and now accounts for three-quarters of the retail price of cigarettes.



Issued by the British Ministry of Information and printed by His Majesty's Stationery Office, London. January 1945.



✓
REFENSE
U.S. Brit. Ministry of Information



A picture of
INDIA



The War Cabinet and India

ON MARCH 11TH, 1942, the Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons that the War Cabinet had agreed unitedly on conclusions, which they believed to be just and final, for present and future action in India, and that Sir Stafford Cripps, who had volunteered for the task, would go to India to satisfy himself that these would achieve their purpose. Mr. Churchill said Sir Stafford Cripps would strive, in the name of His Majesty's Government, to procure the necessary measure of assent not only from the Hindu majority but from the great minorities, among which the Moslems were the most numerous and on many grounds pre-eminent. He would also consult with the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief on the military situation, "bearing always in mind," as the Prime Minister observed, "the paramount responsibility of H.M. Government by every means in their power to shield the peoples of India from the great perils which now beset them. We must remember," Mr. Churchill added, "that India has a great part to play in the world struggle for freedom, that her helping hand must be extended in loyal comradeship to the valiant Chinese people who have fought alone so long. We must remember also that India is one of the bases from which the strongest counter-blows must be struck at the advance of tyranny and aggression."

DRAFT DECLARATION *of Discussion with Indian Leaders*

THE CONCLUSIONS of the British War Cabinet as set out below are those which Sir Stafford Cripps has taken with him for discussion with the Indian leaders and the question as to whether they will be implemented will depend upon the outcome of those discussions which are now taking place :

His Majesty's Government, having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of the promises made in regard to the future of India, have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India. The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion, associated with the United Kingdom and the other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown, but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs.

His Majesty's Government therefore make the following declaration :—

- (a) Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India, in the manner described hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.
- (b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of the Indian States in the Constitution-making body.
- (c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to :—
 - (i) the right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides.

With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new

Constitution, giving them the same full status as the Indian Union, and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

(ii) the signing of a Treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the Constitution-making body. This Treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands ; it will make provision, in accordance with the undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities ; but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in the future its relationship to the other Member States of the British Commonwealth.

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution, it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its Treaty arrangements, so far as this may be required in the new situation.

- (d) the Constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities :—

Immediately upon the result being known of the Provincial Elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of the Provincial Legislatures shall, as a single electoral college, proceed to the election of the Constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the electoral college.

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of the representatives of British India as a whole, and with the same powers as the British Indian members.

- (e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Chapter I. <i>The Country and the People</i>	7
Chapter II. <i>The Indian Empire</i>	9
Chapter III. <i>Prelude to Self-Government</i>	11
Chapter IV. <i>Toward Dominion Status</i>	13
Chapter V. <i>The Indian Nation</i>	16
Chapter VI. <i>The Structure of Government</i>	21
Chapter VII. <i>Administration</i>	26
Chapter VIII. <i>Social Welfare</i>	31
Chapter IX. <i>Economics and Industry</i>	34
Chapter X. <i>The Army in India</i>	40
<i>Some Indian Statistics</i>	45



THE INDIAN EMPIRE

A PICTURE OF INDIA

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

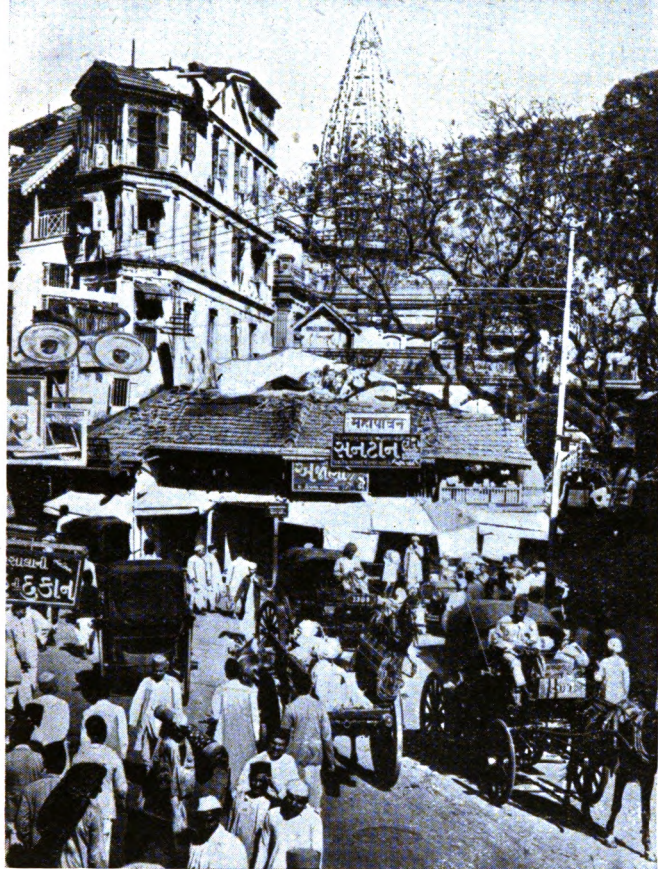
A peninsular sub-continent of Asia, with thrice the population and considerably more than the area of European Russia, India is the cradle of an ancient civilisation. Recent excavations in the Punjab (Harappa) and Sind (Mohenjodaro) have shown that populous cities flourished there about 5,000 years ago, with amenities equal to, and, in some respects, surpassing those of Egypt and Sumeria, the great contemporary centres of civilisation. The houseplanning, systems of drainage, industries and wheeled transport of that "Indus" civilisation all betokened high attainment unknown to later ages when the sands of oblivion had shrouded those sites.

Lying between latitudes 36° and 8° N. and longitudes 68° and 92° E., India is shaped like a battered lozenge, the northern triangle of which is entirely land-locked and the southern bounded on West and East by the Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal respectively. The apex of the northern triangle rests on the Pamirs, that of the southern on Cape Comorin. Their common base stretches eastward from the Iranian border to the western frontier of Burma.

Great varieties of scenery, vegetation and animal life are to be found. Extremes of heat and cold in the North, sub-tropical heat in the Centre and tropical humidity in the South—that is the climatic plan. The Punjab knows 120° in the shade in May to be followed by 20° on the grass in December. Madras—except in its hills—never experiences the need for thick clothing. Cherrapunji has an annual rainfall average of 426 inches (in 1861, 905 inches fell—366 inches in July alone). Jacobabad's average is 3.6 inches. Jacobabad specialises in high temperatures to match its dryness. It has an annual mean average of 95.7° in the shade. Its thermometer has recorded 128° .

India's story is of incessant invasions, the rise and fall of great kingdoms. Emphasis on her underlying unity has persisted throughout these vicissitudes, despite diversity of races, the clash of cultures and the warring ambitions of monarchs. Akin, perhaps, to the Sumerians, the Dravidians—short, stocky, sun-ebonied—are regarded as the oldest inhabitants. Highly cultured in arts and literature though they were, they could not withstand the vigour of disciplined military might as it poured through the North-West Frontier passes in the successive waves of Aryan, Scythian, Pathan and Moghul invaders. That tale was oft repeated.

Like the Saxons who came under Norman yoke, the Dravidians managed to preserve their own institutions and impose some of them on their conquerors—notably the organisation of village life through the panchayat, or village council. But the invaders—again like the Normans—with their tribes, clans and families, their elevation of the priest and warrior to high rank in the community, brought notions of caste and the Hindu social system of which the joint family—a survival of Greek and Roman civilisation—was a salient feature. Later, the invading armies of Muslims, who came to dominate Northern India for 700 years till the 18th century, added a new culture to the common pool. The caste system was unshaken by them, but they came to share with pride the cultural heritage of the country of their adoption. Of the dynasties before the Muslims came, the Mauryan, in the 4th century before Christ, established an Empire which rose to its greatest heights under the Emperors Chandragupta and Asoka, both assiduous patrons of art and literature. The Gupta period is remembered still as the “golden age” of India. The Moghuls, the last of the Muslim conquerors, produced the Emperor Akbar, contemporary of two other great monarchs: Elizabeth of England and Hideyoshi of Japan. Mediaeval splendour, relentless rule, are symbolised in the magnificent buildings which to-day stand in memory of these Moghuls at Delhi, Lahore, Agra, Allahabad and the tenantless Fatehpur Sikri. The pageant of Rajput valour, to which enduring monuments stand in princely Rajputana, must not be forgotten. A Sikh Empire rose for a time in the North under Maharajah Ranjit Singh in the early 19th century. His sway from Lahore over a martial people recalled the glories of the Mahrashtra in the South, a century earlier when Sivaji led his Mahratta troops to victory in vindication of the common man's right to patriotic aspirations. In the present war, as in the Great War of 1914–18, descendants of Muslims, Rajputs, Sikhs, Mahrattas, as well as Dogras, Garhwalis, Jats, Pathans, Madrassis, in fine comradeship with their fellows of



*A street scene
in Bombay.*



Some of the hundreds of new blocks of flats built in Bombay during recent years



Slum clearance carried out by the Calcutta Improvement Trust. This photograph shows the site of the Old China Bazaar and the Radhar Bazaar.

New buildings and open spaces. A modern suburb of South Calcutta.



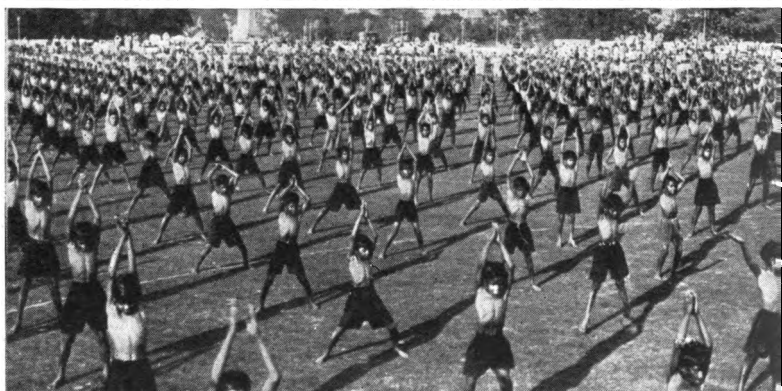
A children's playground among the tenement blocks of Bombay City. Bombay has many playgrounds like this, where children of different castes, from different parts of India, enjoy themselves together.



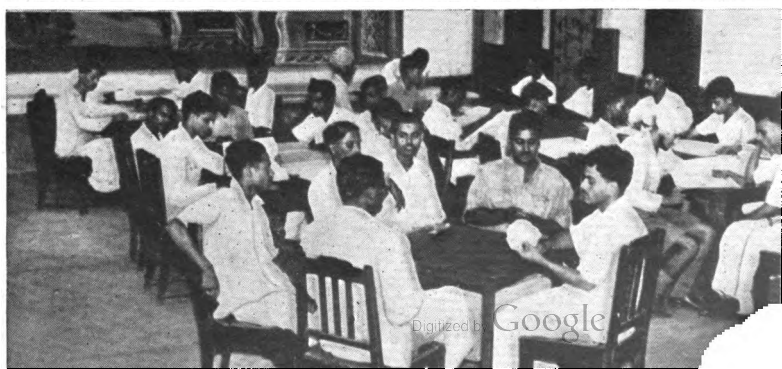
Miss Sushill Agba, M.A., Organising Commissioner, inspecting Girl Guides of Jasboda, Rbostogi Kanya Pathshala, Lucknow.



The Youth Movement in India. A physical training demonstration by the School of Physical Culture, Calcutta.



Inside the Railway Institute at Kharagpur, near Calcutta. Here railway workers are provided with games, newspapers in both Indian and English languages, and entertainments. Indian railwaymen are safeguarded by their own Trade Unions.



There are many open air schools for adults in India. Such a school is here seen in session at Moradabad.



Indian women university graduates in a convocation procession at Bombay.



Modern kindergarten teaching. An infants' class at a school in Bengal.

Solving the unemployment problem. Bengalis learning a trade at an industrial school in Calcutta.



the British Empire, have well upheld and revived the traditions of their own chivalry.

In those distant days of turbulence, the ideal of a unified India was not convertible into practice. Invasion, with its attendant upheavals, so constantly created distraction. Successive invaders found their predecessors easy prey, weakened by climatic and other enervating influences. Cultural difficulties in themselves were formidable enough. The absence of security put the final and fatal bar to unity.

CHAPTER II

THE INDIAN EMPIRE

Now, India, under one monarch, is divided into two well-defined political entities—the 562 Indian States under Indian Rulers, in contractual relations with the British Crown, and the eleven Provinces of British India now enjoying responsible self-government (“provincial autonomy”). The proposal to put the coping stone on Indian unity has been accepted by Parliament in the form of a Federation of India under a Government responsible to a Federal Legislature composed of representatives of the States and of British India. Plans to that effect were in train, but not completed, on the outbreak of war. The form of Federation proposed has not had general support in India. The future Constitution of India is still under consideration, and Sir Stafford Cripps is now (March, 1942) in India in this connection.

The British *regime* in India has gone furthest in approach to the ideal of a unified India. This may be because the British have never attempted to unify India by political conquest. They came as traders originally. They remained to organise, not merely a government in India, but, with the help of Indians themselves, a nationalism, instinct with pride, justified by age-old traditions and achievement. They established a rule of law. They gave India a Penal Code which is recognised as a model of its kind. They refrained from undue interference in the religions and customs of the people. Where reform of such customs was required, care was taken not to proceed too far ahead of public opinion on which reliance was placed for the

necessary inspiration. Above all, the British ensured that the different communities, in civil matters, could retain their personal laws, if such existed. So, to-day, all Hindu India—nearly three-quarters of the population—is governed by caste laws with which the Government has never interfered.

In all matrimonial matters, or succession to property, or land tenure, the law in modern India recognises Hindu, Muslim, Parsee or Animist customary law, as the case may be. The Privy Council in London—the ultimate Court of Appeal for the Empire—has to administer these laws, which may actually differ considerably in principle from British law. Indian judges sit on the Privy Council and the Privy Council Bar includes practitioners, both English and Indian, having expert knowledge of the various customary laws in India.

Queen Elizabeth's grant in 1600 of a Charter to the body of merchants who eventually became the East India Company brought the British to India. From the possession of agencies these merchants advanced to territorial ownership. In 1668 they received from Charles II the gift of Bombay Island, which had come to him from Portugal as part of the dowry of his bride, Catherine of Braganza. After a struggle with the French—an offshoot of the war raging in Europe—the East India Company expanded its influence. Clive's victory at Plassey in 1757 made it master of Bengal. This expansion which had arisen out of rivalry with the French, both nations being involved in the internal feuds between Indian princes, threw on the Company responsibilities of administration. Parliament grew anxious over evidence of temptations to which profit-seeking merchants had succumbed.

With Warren Hastings as the first Governor of Bengal, an experiment was made in establishing British government in India in 1773. Eleven years later, anxiety still persisting, a Board of Control (ancestor of the India Office) was formed in London to ensure contact between Parliament and the Company in the direction of Indian affairs. In 1833 the Company's trading activities were ended and it received a renewal of its Charter as the authority responsible to Parliament for the good government of India. Lord William Bentinck—the abolisher of *sati* (widow self-immolation)—became the first Governor-General of India under this scheme in 1834. It was provided that the door should be opened to the employment of Indians in the administration. In moving the Bill embodying the scheme, Lord Macaulay dimly foresaw that experience of administration might lead to a demand from the people of India for European institutions. He added: "Whether such a day will ever come, I know not, but never

PRELUDE TO SELF-GOVERNMENT

will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history”.

For nearly a quarter of a century this system held. In 1848 the Punjab was merged into British India after stubbornly fought campaigns. In 1856 Oudh was annexed to become eventually part of the United Provinces. Then came a storm. Its mutterings were first heard at Dum Dum near Calcutta, but on May 10th, 1857, mutiny really broke out at Meerut. The tale of bloodshed is well known with all its loyalties, deeds of desperate valour and its cruelties. The Ganges valley was chiefly affected. Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad and Cawnpore played their sad part in the story. It was not a national movement, but primarily a revolt of the Bengal Army.

The shock of the Mutiny to British public opinion led to the transfer of the Company's powers to the British Crown. Viscount Canning, who became the first Viceroy and Governor-General of India, read at Allahabad on November 1st, 1858, Queen Victoria's Proclamation announcing her assumption of the Government of India. In this proclamation Her Majesty declared her will that “our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service”. In 1877 the Queen assumed the title of “Empress of India”. The proclamation of 1858 marked the completion of the territorial consolidation of British India. The Sikhs who had been gallant foes in war became staunch comrades in peace. They played a conspicuous part in Nicholson's forces which relieved Delhi in the Mutiny. In joining the Army in India, the Sikhs found the traditions of their religion fully honoured. To-day the Sikh recruit takes his oath of allegiance to the King Emperor on the Granth Sahib. That sacred volume of the Sikh scriptures is carried at the head of the Sikh Regiments on ceremonial occasions and is saluted by British and Indian officers and men alike.

CHAPTER III

PRELUDE TO SELF-GOVERNMENT

In 1861 Parliament assented to the inclusion of a nominated Indian element in the Legislative Councils of the Viceroy and of the Governors of Bombay and Madras. Until that time legislation had been entirely in the hands of British officials. These legislative bodies were

committees for assisting in the framing of laws. They were consultative rather than deliberative. In 1892 the element of election was indirectly introduced into the Councils. In 1909 the Provincial Councils—now established for the United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bengal, Punjab, as well as for Bombay and Madras—were enlarged, the greater part of the additional members being non-officials chosen by public bodies. The official majorities disappeared. In the Viceroy's Legislative Council the official *bloc* in majority was retained, but the Council itself was enlarged and Muslim members were chosen by the votes of their own community. This system of communal election had been already at work in the District Boards and Municipalities. It was not liked, but it was found in practice to be the only means of preventing extreme communal dissension at election time.

During this development of Indian association in the country's government, the stirring of political consciousness had been active. In 1885, with the encouragement of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, the Viceroy of the day, and greatly helped by Mr. A. O. Hume, a retired officer of the Indian Civil Service, the Indian National Congress Party came into being. The first President, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, defined its objective as the promotion of friendship among workers in India's cause, the removal of racial prejudices, the ventilation of the views of educated India on social problems. Hostility to the British Government was disavowed. Hume was the General Secretary of the organisation until a few years before his death in 1912. Up to 1904 it held to the course outlined by Bonnerjee. From that time a sharper note of nationalism was struck. It was stimulated by the agitation over the partition of Bengal in 1905. In the following year the long-felt anxiety of Muslims over their political position found expression in the founding of the All-India Muslim League. It based its policy on the principle of separate electorates and the allocation to Muslims of seats in excess of their ratio to the population.

Digression to record the rise of these two prominent political parties is appropriate, for the next step in the constitutional history of India drew some inspiration from them. In 1915 correspondence between the Government of India and the Government at Whitehall discussed the question of further reform. Indian political comment was stimulated. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, the greatest Indian of the day, whose influence on the 1909 reforms had been generally recognised, had left a political testament at his death, outlining the model of a potential constitution. In December, 1916, at Lucknow, the Congress

TOWARD DOMINION STATUS

Party and the Muslim League signed a pact defining their joint ideas and affirming the principle of communal electorates.

By the summer of 1917, with this and other material to hand, the Secretary of State (Mr. Austen Chamberlain) had come to a decision. With the help of Lord Curzon he drafted the declaration of British policy in India. Before he could announce it, the Report of the Commission on the breakdown in Mesopotamia, with its strong criticism of the Government of India, had been presented to Parliament. On a point of principle, as the Member of the Cabinet responsible, he tendered his resignation, which was reluctantly accepted. Mr. Edwin Montagu took his place. So it was Mr. Montagu, as Secretary of State for India, who, on August 20th, 1917, made the statement actually framed by his predecessor.

In that statement the British Government declared its policy in India to be that of "increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the Empire". This declaration was made five months before President Wilson, on January 8th, 1918, outlined his famous Fourteen Points. It was made when the Great War had been in progress for more than three years. From the outset Indian troops had been fighting on many fronts overseas with the utmost gallantry and devotion. There was between the constitutional issue and their voluntary service no connection beyond the fact that their achievements secured for the Government's declaration an especially warm welcome everywhere in the British Empire.

CHAPTER IV

TOWARD DOMINION STATUS

The resultant Act of 1919 introduced an experimental semi-democratic system to test the use made by India of limited powers of self-government on the basis of a ten-year plan. At the end of that time the Act prescribed enquiry and report by a Royal Commission to arrive at the form in which the next advance, if any, should be made.

On October 31st, 1929, the Viceroy (Lord Irwin—now Viscount

Halifax) announced on behalf of the Government that Dominion Status was implicit in the Declaration of 1917 as the goal of British policy in India. This was the first occasion on which Dominion Status was formally associated with that policy, although earlier statements from official sources had clearly looked to the eventual alignment of India with the Dominions as an equal partner in the Empire.

Throughout the whole of the British association with India only two formal promises or pledges have been made—on behalf of the British Government—apart from Statutory enactments. The first was that embodied in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858—an important item of which has already been quoted; the second was the Declaration of August 20th, 1917, to which Lord Irwin thus supplied an interpretative commentary twelve years afterwards. Both pledges have been kept. It must be remembered that when the British Parliament assumed responsibility for the governance of India it inherited autocratic and not constitutional power. British rule in India has evolved a gradual change from a system of government based on principles of autocracy, inherited from the Hindu Kings and Muslim Emperors—the only system India had known—to a system built on the principles of constitutionalism based on the British Crown and Parliament.

In 1930 the Royal Commission (under the Chairmanship of Sir John Simon and composed entirely of members of the two Houses of Parliament) made its report. Three Round Table Conferences of delegates from British India and the Indian States were held in London to discuss the material thus provided and otherwise available for the drafting of the new Bill. At the second of these Conferences Mr. M. K. Gandhi was present. The draft Bill was examined by a Joint Select Committee of Parliament under the Chairmanship of the Marquis of Linlithgow, who had been responsible for a searching report on Indian agriculture after enquiry by a Royal Commission over which he had presided and who subsequently became Viceroy of India in 1936.

The fruits of these investigations over a period of about seven years were seen in the Government of India Act, 1935. For the first time it sought to bring British India and the Indian States into formal constitutional relationship by providing, with the reservation of Defence and Foreign Affairs, for a Federal Government of India responsible to a Federal Legislature composed of representatives of British India and the Indian States. These States territorially total 7/16ths of the area of India as a whole and comprise a fourth of its population. Owing to the time required for deciding the terms on which the

Rulers of the States would enter into Federation, it was ordained that the other provisions of the Act should come into force on April 1st, 1937. Those provisions separated Burma from India, set up two new Provinces in Orissa and Sind, and to the eleven Provinces thus composing British India—leaving out certain areas like Baluchistan, Waziristan, Coorg, Ajmer, etc.—full responsible government was given. This involved elimination of the Governors' Executive Councils and official representation in the Legislatures, which, except for a handful of special nominees to represent certain interests, were composed entirely of elected members.

Pending completion of Federation, the Central Legislature remained as before (less the Burma members) and the Government of India, consequently, still remained responsible to the British Parliament through the Secretary of State for India. At the polls in 1937 the Congress Party secured majorities and, after certain hesitations which were removed by negotiation, took office in eight (Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Central Provinces, Madras, North-West Frontier Province, Orissa, United Provinces) out of the eleven Provinces. In the remaining three (Bengal, Punjab, Sind) non-Congress Party Ministries took office, headed in each case by a Muslim Prime Minister.

On the outbreak of war, India automatically became at war with Germany as soon as Great Britain made the declaration on September 3rd, 1939, for the Government of India was subordinate to that in Whitehall. Against this situation, which, indeed, had obtained in 1914 with each of the Dominions although they then were in other respects fully self-governing, the Congress Party's Executive protested. To enforce the protest, after abortive discussions with the Viceroy, the Congress Party ordered the eight Ministries under its banner in the Provinces to resign *en masse*, although defence and foreign policy was and would be in any event outside the scope of Provincial Government. The order was obeyed. In Assam an alternative Ministry took office. In the other seven Provinces emergency provisions in the Constitution were invoked to enable the Governors to carry on the administration with the help of official advisers who, as far as possible, maintained continuity with out-going ministerial policy.

To restore co-operation in these Provinces, the Viceroy and the Government in England laboured unceasingly. In August, 1940, the Viceroy announced the Government's willingness to :

- (1) reaffirm the objective of Dominion Status for India or, in other words, the attainment, as soon as possible after the War, of full and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth ;

A PICTURE OF INDIA

- (2) accept revision of the 1935 Act and an undertaking that the new constitutional plan to be framed after the War should be drawn up by Indians in India and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life, subject to the proviso that it would not be repudiated by large or powerful elements in Indian national life ;
- (3) to invite immediately enlargement of the Viceroy's Executive Council (Cabinet) by the inclusion of Indian political leaders as heads of great national departments.

The offer was not accepted. It remained open.

In July, 1941, without prejudice to its ultimate acceptance, the Viceroy announced the decision to expand his Executive Council by the addition of five Indians eminent in public life as heads of departments. In addition a National Defence Council composed of prominent Indians of British India and the Indian States was set up to associate the Government more closely with the people in the prosecution of the war. A short time previously the formation of a Defence Committee of the Indian Legislature had been approved to enable the Commander-in-Chief to keep the Legislature in fuller touch with the working of the Defence Department. Sir Gurnath Bewoor was appointed first Secretary of this Committee with the rank of Additional Defence Secretary.

A striking recognition of India's approach to Dominion Status was further provided by the appointment of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai to the staff of H.M. Ambassador at Washington as the first Agent-General to the Government of India in the United States of America with the rank of Minister. Reciprocally, Mr. Thomas Wilson was appointed United States Minister at the headquarters of the Government of India.

CHAPTER V

THE INDIAN NATION

The immense variety of racial types, the disparity in standards of culture, must be borne in mind in considering the problem of unifying India under one administration. At the top are highly intellectual, profoundly learned classes, as well as aristocratic inheritors of an ancient chivalry. At the other end are descendants of aborigines of the pre-Dravidian era, still primitive and uncouth.

The caste system—there are about 2,000 different castes and sub-castes—as introduced by the Aryan invaders has absorbed most of the Dravidians. Still there are some 50,000,000 “depressed classes” outside caste who, under that system, are deprived of rights of social contact with their caste countrymen. To their betterment Christian Missions, the Government and some Indian philanthropic bodies, notably the Servants of India Society, founded in 1905 by Gokhale, have long sought to contribute. British policy has given them ever increasing opportunities, culturally and politically. From this numerically important and by no means unenlightened section of the Indian population have already sprung men and women of ability and proved capacity in administration and arts. Public opinion in India but slowly responds to the humane plea for removal of the disabilities to which these “depressed classes” are subject. Irreconcilability of differences is not all on one side.

There are about 150 languages spoken in India. Rural life predominates. Agriculture provides, directly or indirectly, the occupation of 89 per cent. of the people. Only 37 towns have populations of over 100,000 and there are 500,000 villages. Literacy—that is an ability to write a letter and read the reply—has advanced. Sixty years ago it was the attribute only of 40 out of 1,000 of the population. Forty years later the figure was 82 and now it is over 120 per 1,000. According to the 1931 census out of 10,000 123 were literate in English.

A great quickening in the industrial life of the country resulted from the development of industries in the Great War, the adoption of a policy of discriminating protection with the grant of fiscal autonomy and, now, an even wider and more intense programme of industrial expansion in the present war effort. The Government's attention to industries has not made it unmindful of the fact that in agriculture must always lie India's most vital interest. Programmes for the improvement of agricultural life and methods have therefore a prominent place in its policy.

The two main religions in India are Hinduism and Moham-medanism. The Hindus compose 71 per cent. of the population and Muslims 23 per cent. Hinduism is rooted in Indian soil, its first form being Vedism, the worship of nature in songs and prayers, which are called Vedas, followed by Brahminism based on the idea of a universal all-permeating spiritual Being, with an outstanding feature, the caste system, which has no parallel in the modern world.

India is the birthplace of Buddhism, but to-day there are barely a million Buddhists in India proper. Buddha was born somewhere

about 563 B.C. at Rummindei in Nepal. He preached his famous first sermon which gave his religion to the world in the Deer Garden at Sarnath near Benares, sacred to-day to Buddhists all over the world. The great Mauryan emperor, Asoka, was converted to Buddhism in 262 B.C.

A younger religion, is that of the Sikhs, which was founded by Nanak, who was born in 1469. His teaching rejected caste and the supremacy of the Brahmins. It prohibited idolatry and pilgrimages but accepted the doctrine of transmigration. He was followed by nine other Gurus, the tenth of whom, Gobind Singh, in the 18th century, transformed his followers into a military community. The Sikhs almost entirely come from the Punjab and the Indian States associated with that province—Patiala, Nabha, Faridkot, Jhind and Kapurthala. They number some 4,500,000 altogether, of whom about 3,000,000 are in the Punjab and 1,000,000 in the Punjab States.

Orthodox Sikhs are distinguished by the five *kakars*: *kesh* (uncut hair), *kachh* (short drawers), *kara* (iron bangle), *kanga* (wooden comb) and *kirpan* (short sword).

The Islamic faith was brought into India by the various Muslim conquests, culminating in the rule of the Moghuls. Muslims predominate in the populations of Sind, North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. They are in a majority in Bengal and form 56 per cent. in the Punjab as against 13 per cent. Sikhs and 27 per cent. Hindus (1931 census).

The differences in religions, and, in particular, differences between the two great religions of Hinduism and Islam, have given rise to one of India's most difficult political problems. Reinforced by historical traditions, by political rivalry, or by contrasting economies, this religious issue has been a constant source of political pre-occupation.

The root of the differences between Hindus and Muslims is to be found in the great divergence of their religious thought. Muslims are monotheistic. Muslims, too, are the descendants of the invaders and the converts that those invaders made when they entered India, and the Muslims of India have naturally drawn their culture from the literatures of the great countries from which they came. Even to-day the Indian Muslim looks to the big University at Cairo and he consoles himself in contemplation of the disappearance of Muslim rule in India by pointing to the geographical fact that from the Ganges to the Caspian Sea there is a congeries of Islamic nations.

Eighty-nine per cent. of the people of India live in villages. The relations between Hindu and Muslim in these villages, despite the sharp cleavage of social custom and religion, are peaceful and friendly.

At times, when religious festivals are in train and feelings run high, disorders occur, but usually they are composed at the cost of a few headaches and bruises. At other times, however, Hindu-Muslim tension has been more serious in its results. The suggestion that this is a product of British Rule in India is not correct unless it be said that the British must accept responsibility for everything that happens in India.

British Rule in the full sense of the term was not consolidated until 1858, when the East India Company's administration was taken over by the Crown. But long before that the record of the relations between Hindus and Muslims was by no means peaceful. To begin with, the memories of Muslim rule and its accompanying severity towards the Hindu population kept bitterness alive. In a religious sense this bitterness has invariably been focussed on the one basic difference between the respective creeds. For the Hindu the cow is a sacred animal and its killing in no circumstances is permitted, even though it perhaps may be a way of putting the animal painlessly out of a miserable life. On the other hand, cow killing is not an offence in Muslim eyes—indeed once a year the sacrifice of a cow is a part of Muslim rejoicings.

In reality, the religious issue by itself is not enough to keep Hindus and Muslims apart. In the beginning of the 19th century, when the controversy over education in India was settled in 1835 by the adoption of what was known as the English education system as opposed to the Orientalism championed by many other critics, the Hindus gladly availed themselves of the opportunities thus offered. Muslims, however, looking as their religion ordained to the Islamic centres of culture, held aloof and for a long time were bitterly resentful at the decision to abolish Persian as the official language in India.

So the Hindus gained a great advantage over the Muslims in the mastery of the English language and all that went with it, with the result that as, in due course, Hindus and Muslims alike were able to sit for examinations for the Public Services, the predominance of the Hindu in the lists of successful candidates was even greater than the numerical ratio of the communities' strength would have suggested.

In 1875 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, realising how much the community had lost by their fatal decision, founded his College at Aligarh. Since then Muslims gained ground, but it is necessary for the Government to reserve a certain percentage of posts from public examinations in order, after the results are out, to redress an unfair balance in favour of the Hindu. This experience of Muslims in the administrative sphere was matched by their position of inferiority in politics.

When the Indian National Congress Party, as it was called originally, developed a critical attitude towards Government and demanded representative institutions for India, Sir Syed Ahmad warned his community that rule by the ballot box would inevitably result in a Hindu predominance in India. Sir Syed Ahmad deplored the bitterness of the feeling between Hindus and Muslims—this was in 1887. But he felt that facts had to be recognised, and he plainly told his community that if there were an election on the Western system Hindus would vote for Hindus and Muslims for Muslims, regardless of the other merits of the candidates, and so there would practically be no Muslims in any legislature except in those provinces where Muslims had an assured majority.

Reflection on this view led, in 1906, to a deputation which was received by Lord Minto and the principle of communal electorates was first accepted, *i.e.* in constituencies where the numbers justify it, separate electorates are created for Hindus and Muslims, so a Muslim is certain of securing a seat.

The communal electorate system is admitted on all sides to be unsatisfactory and, indeed, there is a good deal to be said for the argument that it keeps communal animosity alive. There is, however, no other way of meeting the views of a minority community which is in mortal dread of finding itself at the mercy of its historic antagonists, and that, indeed, is the long term cause of the Muslim desire for no further constitutional step to be taken during the present war until full opportunity has been given for taking safeguards against a dominant Hindu rule. In the short term view, *i.e.* dealing with the communal problem as it immediately presents itself, the other source of bitterness between the communities is to be found in the struggle for the "loaves and fishes".

Where the Congress Party and therefore predominantly Hindu Ministries have been in office, the Muslims declare that the exercise of patronage, the routine of transferring and posting officials and all the other staffing and establishment functions of Government have been weighted against them. Although this contention is sincerely put forward, and there is something in it, it must be recognised that a good deal of it is due to the backwardness of the Muslim community as a whole in educational training, as already explained. Anyone who has been in India knows that in many of the cultural activities which serve to influence public opinion the Hindu, on merit, takes the lead. For example, the Indian Press, except that, of course, which caters exclusively for the Muslim community, is predominantly Hindu in its staffing.

But to say that England fosters this communal tension in a deliberate

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

plan to perpetuate it to her own advantage is a travesty of the truth. The District Officer in India dislikes nothing more than the constant anxiety which he experiences in tiding over those periods of stress when Hindu and Muslim festivals re-open old enmity and all too often lead to serious rioting and bloodshed.

As for the political side of this communal problem, before the present constitution came into existence the British Government deliberately left the question of communal electorates to be thrashed out between Hindus and Muslims in conference. No agreement could be reached, so the Government had to apply its own solution.

CHAPTER VI

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

The Government of India is the Executive Council of the Viceroy—the Governor-General-in-Council—responsible to the British Parliament, through the Secretary of State for India. The Viceroy thus presides over a Council which, until the expansion announced in July, 1941, was composed of the Commander-in-Chief as an Extraordinary Member and six ordinary Members. With the entry of five more Indians into the Council, the distribution is Finance, Home (internal affairs), Law, Commerce, Education (with Health and Lands), Communications, Supply, Information, Civil Defence, Labour, Indians Overseas.

Three of the ordinary Members are British officials; the remaining eight are Indian non-officials. Thus the Viceroy's Executive Council, including the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, is composed of eight Indian and five British members—a clear Indian majority of three. In 1941, therefore, an administrative change, designed primarily to meet the needs of the war situation, and made within the framework of the 1935 Constitution, without reference to Parliament, took the drastic form of putting the Government of India in the hands of an Indian majority. Naturally the dominant interest of the War prevented full appreciation of the significance of this step outside India. Still it did not go unnoted.

Each Department has a Secretary to the Government of India who, though subordinate to the Member in whose portfolio the department is, has constitutionally the right of direct access to the

Viceroy. In theory, a Member is appointed to the Executive Council. What portfolio he has is a matter entirely for the Viceroy to determine. The Viceroy can, if he chooses, change that portfolio at any time, although in practice this seldom occurs.

All Members of the Council, except the Viceroy, belong to one or other of the two Chambers of the Central Legislature. They can speak in either Chamber, but can only vote in the one of which they are actually members. The Viceroy himself holds the portfolio of External and Political Affairs, so foreign policy, including relations of the Government of India with the Indian States, is in his hands. The Commander-in-Chief is Member for Defence. Before 1909 there was a Military Member, but in 1906 Lord Kitchener objected to this dual representation of the Army in the Cabinet. For three years the compromise of calling the Military Member a Member for Military Supply was adopted, but that was found to be unworkable. Until 1909, too, the Viceroy's Council was entirely British in composition. In 1909 the first Indian Member (Law) was appointed in the person of the late Lord Sinha. In 1919 a second and in 1920 a third Indian Member took their seats. The quota of three Indian Members remained until 1941, when, as already noted, five additional Indian Members were appointed as the result of an expansion of the Council.

The Viceroy is bound by the majority decision of his Council. Where the voting is level he has a casting vote. If in his opinion any measure affects the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India, he has power to override his Council, but any two dissentient members may ask for the matter to be referred to the Secretary of State. The Council is irremovable and not responsible to the Indian Legislature. Under an Act passed in 1924, the Viceroy, Commander-in-Chief, and Members of the Council can take four months' leave out of India during their tenure of office (usually five years). The Government of India is concerned with defence, foreign affairs, railways, customs, tariffs, relations with the Indian States, posts and telegraphs, income tax, currency and coinage, civil law, including laws regarding status, property, civil rights and liabilities, civil procedure, criminal law and procedure, the Indian Audit. Matters like local self-government, medical administration and public health, education (with reservations), public works and irrigation, land revenue administration, famine relief, agriculture, forests, police, prisons and administration of justice are the primary concern of the Provinces.

Since 1937 the Provinces have had full autonomy in these matters assigned to them for administration. So the provincial Legislatures through the Ministers responsible to them now can wield enormous

authority. In six Provinces (Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces) the Legislatures are bicameral. The remaining five (Central Provinces, North-West Frontier Province, Orissa, Punjab, Sind) have only single chambers known as Legislative Assemblies. The provincial Ministries control and direct administrative policy in respect of public health, education, law and order, public works (including irrigation), land revenue, provincial debt, taxation and the like. They control the police forces.

The 562 Indian States territorially interlaced with British India—so much so that it is possible to travel by air from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and hardly fly over British territory at all—have been kept apart from the constitutional developments in British India. It was recognised, however, by the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report that sooner or later this state of affairs would have to be altered as the structure of self-governing India became more complete. The States have treaties or other forms of contractual engagement with the British Crown, of whom the Viceroy is the representative. They have no authority to deal with external affairs or the defence of India. Their troops or State Forces, varying from units organised on modern lines to local irregulars, are not part of the Army in India, although, as in the last war, the services of selected units of certain States have been gladly accepted by the Government. It must not be thought, however, that there has been no political progress in the States. Especially in recent years, the autocracy of the rulers has been greatly mitigated by their own spontaneous action. In many of the States Legislative Councils have been set up. Judiciaries independent of the Executive have been established and retired High Court Judges from India have been appointed to preside.

Twenty-three States, among them the most important, have Legislative Assemblies, many of which possess elected majorities with the right of voting on Budget grants. Some States possess administrations comparable with that maintained in British India.

Above all, the larger States have Dewans, or Prime Ministers, specially chosen by the Rulers for their eminence and capacity, very often proved by tenure of high posts in British India.

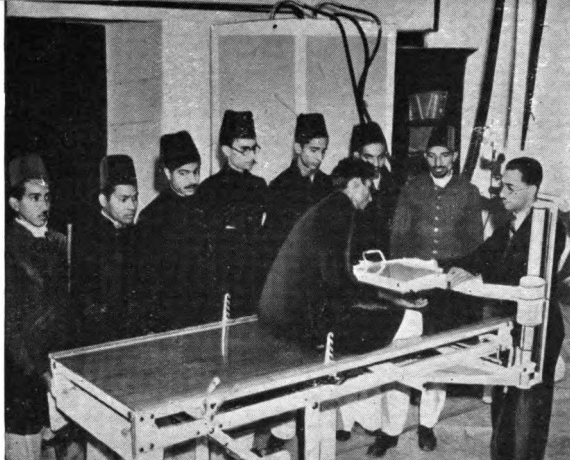
It would be wrong to say that the Central Legislature, even in its present form, is without tangible power, though its official minority is irremovable and irresponsible (in the technical sense). In days when the very much less powerful Legislative Council of the Viceroy was in existence and the Indian members were in a clear minority against the official *bloc*, the Government paid great heed to the non-official point of view. So much so that the Finance Member

of the day, in introducing the Budget of 1915, when India had been at war for six months and her troops were fighting in France, East Africa, Egypt, the Frontier and Mesopotamia, took credit for showing a reduction in military expenditure.

That burden on India's finances had long been a favourite theme of Indian political argument. It must have seemed, therefore, to the Government of India to have had special claim to consideration, even though peace-time conditions were being rudely disturbed. Some critics were inclined to cavil at such an untimely display of responsiveness to the views of a minority, but, for the purpose of showing how responsive reactions by an irresponsible executive were part of the technique of successive Governments of India, it was eloquent.

A fortiori, when the Central Legislature commanding an elected majority and possessing certain powers of refusing supply (subject to special overriding authority vested in the Viceroy) came into being under the Act of 1919, this spirit of responsiveness was expanded. Moreover, the Central Legislature has since 1921 enjoyed one attribute of Dominion Status. By convention established in that year India has had fiscal autonomy. That is to say, on fiscal matters, when the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly are in agreement, the Secretary of State will not normally interfere. No such interference has occurred since that Convention was made.

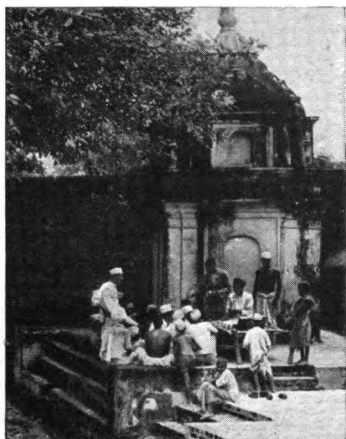
Command of a majority cuts both ways. It tends to encourage enforcement of opinion by irrelevant exercise of the powers inherent in the lobby. The authors of the 1919 Constitution hoped that the exercise of goodwill would obviate the need for the Executive to resort frequently to special powers for overriding decisions which might bring administration to a standstill. They did not foresee that, taking a leaf out of the book of political parties in England, the non-official majorities, knowing that means for averting a breakdown rested in the Viceroy's hands, were disposed to reject demands for grants in order to demonstrate their conviction that further constitutional authority should be given to them. Budgets were thrown out, not on their merits, but to add point to the contention that the time for responsible government at the Centre had come. This did not really imply a lack of goodwill, for the Central Legislature has shown goodwill by much able work in committees and in developing parliamentary practice. It merely showed a determination to turn to tactical account the tools made available. The technique was varied occasionally by carefully staged withdrawals—a gesture much affected by the Congress Party. That Party refrained from



Modern medical training. Students at Aligarh Muslim University receiving X-Ray instruction.



But the Street Druggist still plies his trade.



Government medical relief in the villages. The village doctor distributing medicine.



The Viceroy sees the Free Milk Scheme in operation at the Municipal High School, New Delhi.



One of the Women's Wards in the Dufferin Hospital, Calcutta.



Touring vaccinators inoculate villagers against smallpox.



Bales of cotton awaiting export.



An Indian Pottery Market.



Tea-picking in the Darjeeling hills.



Loading camels with salt at Sambhar Lake.

Women at work on brassware.





A Locomotive Erecting Shop in Bengal. Within a few years, probably, India will be making all her own locomotives.



A scene in the Gun and Shell Factory, Cossipore.



A machine in one of the five Cigarette Factories of Calcutta.



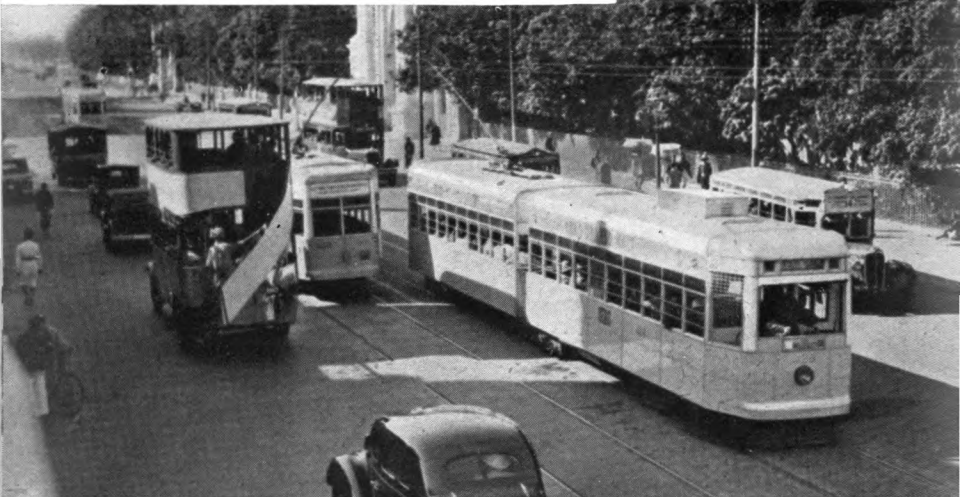
Munitions being made in an Indian Railway Workshop.



Making bodywork parts at an Automobile Factory.



Indian village transport.



Modern transport in Calcutta.



in progress on the North-West Frontier.



A country road, Trivandrum.

standing for the first elections of 1920, but a predominant section reversed that policy in 1924. The declared attitude of non-co-operation received appropriate expression in withdrawals and rejections of demands for grants (estimates), but it was not applied to the normal working of the legislative machine. So, in common with other parties, the Congress Party has made notable contributions to the progress of the Central Legislature, despite its official recusancy. It put up a candidate for the presidential chair and he was elected. It did good work in committees of considerable importance and helped to establish the parliamentary atmosphere.

Experience in municipal government—Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, before he abjured all co-operation with the administration, was one of the best Presidents who ever presided over the Allahabad Municipality—ever-increased participation in administrative functions and an alert study of world opinion have enabled Indians to approach closely to the objective of responsible government at the Centre. The consistent responsiveness of British public opinion to the democratic principle has stimulated these processes. The vigour of the growth of political consciousness in India itself has potently reinforced them. Here it may be observed that the great advance in women's influence in political affairs has been valuable. With surprising ease Indian women have secured the vote and the right to sit in Legislatures—Mrs. Pandit was one of the Ministers in the United Provinces until, in obedience to her party's fiat, she offered her resignation. Their influence has been good. In forcing the pace of nationalist claims, they have shown a practical sense of the pressing needs of social reform in the development of a better India.

During the last two decades the women of India have acquired numerous rights, social and legal no less than political. In many ways women in India have profited by the victories won by their sex in other parts of the world. The opportunity of exercising the franchise has been taken by women even in provinces where the purdah system is most prevalent. The All-India Women's Conference has been the organ for representation of the women's cause. Growing recognition of the need for more progressive policies in such matters as public health and education has gained for women a hearing which they have not had before. Both Hindu and Muslim religions lay stress on the importance of motherhood. This adds point to the part which women can play in tackling the problem of infantile mortality and the backwardness of women in education.

The Simon Report paid a notable tribute to the women of India :
 "The women's movement in India holds the key to progress and the

results it may achieve are incalculably great. It is not too much to say that India cannot reach the position to which it aspires in the world until its women play their due part as educated citizens". On that text the All-India Women's Conference has consistently worked.

CHAPTER VII

ADMINISTRATION

Politics have their uses, but a country does not live by them alone. Before politicians could make Viceroys and Governors spend sleepless nights, India was governed and run to the smallest detail of administration by bureaucrats, the chief of which were drawn from civil services of outstanding integrity and ability. To-day, the bureaucrat serves where he formerly ruled, but he still is the backbone of the administration. The patriarchal rôle has suffered a sea-change, but personality can make itself felt, even when the children in their grown-up state have a dominant voice. Just as the village is the true expression of Indian life, so the District Officer, in whose charge are thousands of villages, is the pivot on which India's daily occasions turn.

The introduction of Indians into the administration has proceeded steadily with evergrowing rapidity from 1861 onwards. So it is useful to consider the proportion of Indians to-day in the upper ranks of the administration. Generally speaking, the proportion of Indians to British is fifty-fifty, but occasionally the predominance of Indians is much more marked. The police forces of India are under the control of Indian Ministers. They number 187,000, of whom only 600 are British Officers.

In the civil medical departments of India, out of a total of 6,000 fully or partly qualified medical men there are fewer than 200 British. In the Forest Services there are 240 British out of a total of 16,000, and in the Engineering Department 500 British out of a total of 7,500. The 800,000 employees on the Indian State Railways comprise only 3,500 British. Turning to the Judiciary, out of 2,500 Judges of all grades there are 230 British.

The best proof of the extent to which Indianisation has gone is

ADMINISTRATION

afforded by what is known as General Administration. That includes high officials: Commissioners of Divisions, District Officers and the like. Excluding the lower classes of subordinates, out of a total of 5,500 there are only 630 British.

The administrative machine which spreads its influence over a country of 886,000 square miles and a population of 295,827,000—to speak of British India only—is not solely a British achievement. It is rather the result of fine team work between British and Indians for a country the interests of which they both have warmly at heart.

From the District to the Division, from the Division to the Headquarters of the Provincial Government, from the Provincial Government to the Government of India, is the chain of authority which keeps touch with the welfare of the people. The Secretariat, whether in the Provinces or at the Centre, depends on the District Officer for guidance, information and the execution of measures devised by the powers that be for India's stability, progress and prosperity. Nowadays, in addition to the premier Indian Civil Service, specialisation has brought into the District, Engineers, Police, Doctors, Educationists—all carrying out projects to fulfil the growing requirements of the people. The administration is not costly. The annual revenue of the Central Government is about £60,000,000. The same figure gives the aggregate of the revenue in the eleven Provinces. So £120,000,000 is the national revenue for running a country of more than 750,000 square miles and a population of nearly 296,000,000. War budgets are left out of account.

There are about 250 Districts in British India. Each of them is in charge of an officer—usually of the Indian Civil Service—who is responsible for the collection of land and other revenue and has the powers of a first-class magistrate. He has as his colleague the Superintendent of Police and various subordinate officials. The higher judicial work of the District is in the hands of the District and Sessions Judge. There is also the Civil Surgeon who has various duties appropriate to his profession and at the headquarters of the Province looks to the Inspector-General of Hospitals as his chief, besides having to take note of the views of the Public Health Commissioner and perhaps the Chief Malaria Officer. The Executive Engineers of the Public Works Department supervise roads, buildings and canals. This personnel is supplied, first from the Imperial Services and then from the Provincial Services. The lower posts are also filled by provincially engaged staff.

In the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Sind, Assam and Central Provinces, as well as in the United Provinces (Oudh),

the head of the District is called Deputy Commissioner. In Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Madras, Orissa, United Provinces (Agra) he is called Collector. Over the Deputy Commissioners and Collectors are Commissioners, who are in charge of Divisions consisting of a number of Districts. The revenue administration in a Province is in the hands of a Board of Revenue or of one or two Financial Commissioners, who have under them a Director of Land Records and perhaps an Excise Commissioner. Bombay, however, has no Board or Financial Commissioners. Madras has no Commissioners. At provincial headquarters are Inspectors-General (Police, Prisons, Hospitals) and other heads of departments (Chief Engineers, Chief Conservators of Forests), who are attached to the Secretariat, the departments of which communicate the Provincial Governments' decisions to the Districts and carry on correspondence with the Government of India. The Provincial Ministers are the political heads of the departments. The District and Sessions Judge has civil and criminal jurisdiction, but his sentences of death have to be confirmed by two Judges of the High Court. The High Courts in India are : Allahabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore, Madras, Nagpur, Patna. In Sind and the North-West Frontier Province, the principal judicial tribunals are known as Judicial Commissioner's Courts. The High Court at Patna sends Judges on circuit to Orissa. The Calcutta High Court has jurisdiction in Assam. The Allahabad High Court is officially called the High Court of the North-West Provinces—a reminder that it was constituted before the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province formed part of British India.

In the civil courts throughout India no racial distinction has been recognised since 1836. Juries are never employed in civil suits in India. Trial by jury is the fixed rule in original criminal cases before the High Court. Assessors or juries are called in criminal cases in courts of session. The findings of assessors are not binding on the judges. The majority opinion of juries prevails if accepted by the presiding judges. Until 1921 the procedure for the trial of criminal cases differentiated between Indians and European British subjects (including American and non-British Europeans). In that year, as the result of the recommendations of the Racial Distinctions Committee, these differences were substantially reduced. A Federal Court as the guardian of the Constitution and the arbiter of disputes between Federal units has been set up since October, 1937.

Land Revenue is the mainstay of provincial finance. It has existed in some form or other in India from time immemorial. In most parts of India periodical settlements are made to determine the basis of

revenue. In Bengal the possibility of revising what is known as the Permanent Settlement instituted in 1793 has been under examination.

Although, owing to the absence of private capital in India, British companies with guaranteed capital laid the foundations of the Indian railway system, the mileage of which is about 41,000, the State all along retained its property in the lines and prescribed the right of purchase after a certain length of time. The decision in 1878 to construct 5,000 miles of railway as a protection against famine gave a great impetus to development, but until the beginning of the present century profits on the working of the railways were generally disappointing to the companies and the Government. Now the whole of the railway system in India is State-managed and controlled, with the exception of the Bengal-Nagpur, the Bombay, Baroda and Central India, the Madras and Southern Mahratta lines, and the South Indian lines, covering in mileage 15,000 miles. The separation of Railways from the General Budget recommended by the Acworth Committee in 1921 began in 1925-26. Since then the Railways have made to the central revenues contributions averaging £4,000,000 annually, besides putting substantial sums to reserve.

The other great weapon against famine and potent contributor to agricultural prosperity in a country formerly at the mercy of a fickle rainfall is irrigation. Of old it was said that the Indian Budget was a gamble on the monsoon. The monsoon forecast was described as the one joke made by the Government of India each year. Now, thanks to greatly improved meteorological observation, the monsoon forecast is a model of accuracy. Moreover, just over 31,750,000 acres have been brought under irrigation as compared with 4,500,000 in 1879 and 19,250,000 at the start of the present century. The capital invested in irrigation is to-day over £115,000,000, with a net return of capital estimated at 5.7 per cent. A special feature of recent developments is the increase in hydro-electric projects, for which India offers special facilities. Industrial expansion can depend on access to cheap power—a potent factor in India's economic progress. Hydro-electric works are also linked up with irrigation schemes, for the water is first used to drive turbines and then distributed over the fields. A Central Bureau of Irrigation established in 1931, and financed by the Government of India, now receives also financial support from the Provinces and works independently under the Central Board of Irrigation. The engineering operations of Indian railway and irrigation enterprises include constructional work which has attracted world-wide attention from professional experts. In bridge and dam building the engineer in India has recorded remarkable achievements. Special mention

might be made of the Lloyd Barrage in Sind, the Cauvery (Mettur) project in Madras and the Sutlej Valley canals in the Punjab.

It is not too much to say that famine—a dread visitation which was a constant nightmare to India for centuries—has been conquered by this network of canals and railways and improved scientific observation. Before the full influence of these remedial works could be established, the Government had already tackled the problem by enactment of an elaborate Famine Code and the creation of an Indian Famine Trust, specially designed to give monetary assistance to areas afflicted by a shortage in rainfall. The progress made in overcoming famine can be gauged by recalling the failure of the monsoon in 1919. That was on a scale unparalleled in modern times, yet, thanks to the new protection offered by railways and canals, it had but little effect on the country as a whole. Moreover, in recent years, owing to the smallness of the draft on the Indian Famine Trust, that fund has been able to make large grants for earthquake and flood relief. As will be remembered, India was recently visited by two particularly severe earthquakes: in Bihar in 1934, when 10,000 lives were lost, and in Quetta, when an area of 10,000 square miles was affected and 25,000 people perished.

The Posts and Telegraphs in India are under State control and cover the country with a remarkable organisation penetrating into the most remote districts. Telephones, wireless telegraphy in all its different forms, transport ranging from the up-to-date motor car down to the bullock gharry and hardy pedestrian mail runner who dares the risk of the jungle, the rigours of floods and landslides, to carry his messages and mails to their destination—all contribute to the yearly epic of the department's service. In a year the department handles 1,255,000,000 postal articles. It pays out over £1,250,000 in military pensions. Its Savings Bank account has a balance of nearly £60,000,000, which is equivalent to the total annual revenue of the Central Government. It despatches over 18,500,000 telegrams a year and gives nearly 3,000,000 trunk calls. The trading community is assisted by the V.P.P. (C.O.D.) system, which collects over £11,000,000 annually. The internal press telegram service is particularly good and cheap. To assist newspapers, teleprinters have been installed in various centres. From 1925-26 the accounts of the department have been placed on a commercial basis. They showed from 1927-28 to 1933-34 losses of varying amounts. Since then, generally speaking, the department has been run at a profit. The department employs 118,000 persons of all classes, whole-time and part-time, of whom fewer than 60 are Europeans.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL WELFARE

The field of social services in India is immense. Progress in education and public health has not been commensurate with the enormous demands of a predominantly rural population. Conservative finance—prudent in an administration working in a country where standards of living are low—has prevented rapid acceptance of elaborate measures for educational development and for establishing public health organisations on European lines. Since 1921 Indian Ministers have had these problems under their care. Besides finance, another obstacle is to be found in the deep-rooted customs of the people. The wonder is that so much has been achieved. The spread of knowledge and no doubt the alertness of public opinion stimulated by political activity is going far to produce the necessary support for more vigorous Government action.

Climatic asperities, the tyranny of custom, obstinate ignorance stand in the way of public health reformers. Investigation of Labour conditions, has been a source of guidance from the valuable report which the Royal Commission, entrusted with that task, produced. Study of nutrition, stimulated by the activities of the Health Section of the League of Nations, the growth of the women's movement, the revolt against purdah (that is, the seclusion of women), as well as the devoted work of medical missionaries and financially handicapped public health departments in the Provinces and the Government of India itself have all helped to stiffen resistance to *laissez faire* and obscurantism.

If educational development in England itself be studied historically, Great Britain's record in India will emerge with credit. The East India Company moved slowly in recognising its duty to patronise learning, but education it regarded as outside its sphere. It was not until 1813 that the Company, under pressure from its own Governor-General (Lord Minto) and evangelical bodies led by Wilberforce, authorised the modest sum of £10,000 annually for "the encouragement of learned natives of India and the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences". The allotment was not spent until 1823; a committee directed its expenditure mainly on Oriental studies. The Baptist missionaries at Serampore, in the beginning of the 19th century, were the first to provide English education in India. In 1835 Macaulay wrote his historic minute in favour of English education. This was accepted in preference to what was known as "orientalism"

and received the support of Indian intellectuals of the day largely owing to the influence of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who had been a thorough-going champion of the spread of English education. Though he died in 1833, his immense influence persisted.

In 1854 Sir Charles Wood—grandfather of a future Viceroy (Lord Irwin)—as the first Secretary of State for India, ordered the creation of universities and the standardisation of teaching in the colleges. Universities were established in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in 1857, in Punjab (Lahore) in 1882 and in Allahabad in 1887. In 1904 an Act reconstructed the governing authorities of universities and vested in them the power to inspect colleges. There are now seventeen universities, the others with their dates of creation being Benares Hindu (1915), Patna (1917), Aligarh Muslim (1920), Lucknow (1920), Dacca (1920), Delhi (1922), Nagpur (1923), Agra (1927), Annamalai (1929), and in Hyderabad and Mysore, the Osmania (1918) and Mysore (1916), respectively.

Literacy in India is low. Over 120 out of every 1,000 persons are literate in the sense of being able to write and read a letter in their respective languages—there are about 150 languages in India excluding dialects. Literacy is increasing, but until the spirit of the people enforces the need for education progress must be slow. The Indian villager may be willing for his child to go to school for a year or two, but as soon as that child can help in the field or the home economic pressure and tradition combined cut school days short. There is undoubtedly an awakening and, education being now in the charge of Ministers, most legislatures are ready to find funds to finance it, even when financial stringency is acute. It must be remembered, however, that nine-tenths of the Indian population live in villages mostly small and scattered, so the provision of effective primary education is expensive and difficult to organise. Formidable obstacles are presented by caste and communal feeling. In the light of the difficulties and of the declared policy of interfering as little as possible with the religious and social customs of the people, British rule in India has no reason to apologise for its educational record.

After all, a system which has enabled a large body of important civil services to find in India officers capable of filling in ever-increasing number the highest positions in the State cannot have been lacking in efficiency. Among these officers are men who have literally risen from the lower ranks of the service to posts such as High Commissioner for India and Member of the Viceroy's Cabinet.

Turning to social welfare and public health, the obstacles presented by custom and tradition, as well as by religious tenets, have been

formidable. In recent years the importance of education and propaganda in improving conditions has been recognised. The rise of the women's movement is increasing the pace of reform. Since Public Health departments were established in India sixty years ago much has been done to improve the sanitary conditions of towns, but in the rural areas, where the bulk of the people reside, progress has been admittedly slow. The prevalence of the purdah system has prevented the rapid recruitment and training of women doctors and women nurses ; but here again marked advances have been recorded in recent years. The scope for effort is enormous. Infant mortality is terribly high and yet the population had increased by 40 per cent. in 1931 as compared with that in 1881, while the increase in 1941 over 1931 has proved to be nearly 15 per cent. Under Inspectors-General of Hospitals in every province the State provides facilities for nursing and medical attention.

The real field for activity is in the rural areas where diseases such as pneumonia and tuberculosis are demanding urgent attention. A great need is the attainment of more accuracy in health statistics submitted by the districts. The Indian Medical Service has a fine record in India. Its research activities, too often hampered by lack of funds, would alone justify that statement. Poverty is a root cause of malnutrition which leads to disease, but that poverty cannot be attributed to inherent defects in British rule. Much is due to retarding ways of life, the difficulty of curbing the rapacity of the money-lender, and in some degree the excessive procreateness of the masses.

The remedy is the education of public opinion, and in India, for reasons already stated, that is a slow process. Owing to the absence of statistics the health conditions of the pre-British era cannot be compared with those of to-day. Climatic asperities can be mitigated but not ignored. Yet, seeing that the death rate in 1891 was 31 per 1,000 and in 1936 23 per 1,000, it must be recognised that improvements have been effected. India is the home of endemic disease. Given the social conditions imposed by rigidly observed religious precepts, there are limits to the rapidity with which the administration can devise effective remedies or measures of prevention. An official statement has aptly summed up the position :

"The lack of progress in rural sanitation is due to the apathy of the people and the tenacity with which they cling to domestic customs injurious to health. While the inhabitants of the plains of India are on the whole distinguished for personal cleanliness, the sense of public cleanliness has ever been wanting. Great

improvements have been effected in many places ; but the village house is still ill-ventilated and over-populated ; the village site dirty and crowded with cattle, choked with rank vegetation and poisoned by stagnant pools ; and the village tanks polluted and used indiscriminately for bathing, cooking and drinking. That the way to improvement lies through the education of the people has always been recognised."

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMICS AND INDUSTRY

The stigma attaching to economic exploitation of a country by alien rulers is the product of modern thought allied to a livelier national conscience. English merchants first came to India under a royal charter for trading in the time of Queen Elizabeth in London and Akbar in Delhi (1600). In competition with earlier arrivals—the Portuguese and Dutch—and, later, with the French, these English merchants gradually expanded their trading influence. In the confusion following the breakdown of the Mogul Empire, greater opportunities were offered. The East India Company, so far back as 1661, was authorised to make peace or war with non-Christian powers. Eventually the State became a partner in its activities after Clive and Eyre Coote had won battles which extended the territorial power of the Company. Pitt's Act of 1784 established a Board of Control which was the precursor of the Secretary of State for India.

In 1813 the Company lost its monopoly of the Indian trade : in 1833 it was entirely stripped of its commercial functions by the abolition of its China monopoly. In 1853 the patronage of its Directors was replaced by a system of open examination for manning the Indian Civil Service. In 1858, after the Mutiny had shaken the Company's authority and aroused public anxiety in England, the complete control of the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, and the India Office, under a Secretary of State, came into existence in place of the East India House of Leadenhall Street.

Thackeray and Macaulay have both shown that the officers of the East India Company "shook the pagoda tree" to some purpose. The ostentatious wealth of the "Nabobs", as the retired Anglo-

Indians were called, disgusted public opinion and largely accounted for the extreme partisanship of Macaulay's account of the trial of Warren Hastings. Clive, in an earlier period, had himself acquired considerable wealth, but he was the first to realise the importance of probity in the Company's officials.

Although it would be idle to deny that "economic exploitation" marked and marred the early days of British trading relations with India, buttressed as it was by ever growing political power, it must be remembered that exhortations to maintain higher principles were discernible even in the 18th century. For example, in 1765 the Directors of the Company, in sending him out to reform the administration, told Lord Clive that they expected him to convince the "country governments" in India that the Company abhorred "oppression and rapaciousness", which had been "invented" by its own servants and "supported" by violence. However, it will probably be agreed that acceptance of the present view of "economic exploitation" would have been far in advance of world opinion either in the 18th or in the greater part of the 19th century.

At the same time, the doctrine of "trusteeship" in definition of England's responsibility can be discerned in Macaulay's speech in the House of Commons when securing the passage of the Bill which contained the germ of eventual self-government. Macaulay referred specifically to the disappearance of the "get-rich-quick" ambition from the minds of the Company's officers :

"I rejoice to see my countrymen, after ruling millions of subjects, after commanding victorious armies, after dictating terms of peace at the gates of hostile capitals, after administering the revenues of great provinces, after judging the causes of wealthy zemindars, after residing at the Courts of tributary kings, return to their native land with no more than a decent competence."

And he went on to admit that, although evils existed, the Government (that is, the East India Company) was "actively employed in the work of remedying those evils" and "anxiously bent on the public good".

So we come to Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858, which, the charter of Indian liberty, affirmed a desire "to stimulate the peaceful industry of India . . . and to administer the government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein".

Still, although generally the officials of the Government of India endeavoured to uphold that high standard and many of them manfully crossed swords with Whitehall in so doing, it is true that, until a

more enlightened attitude obtained in Westminster, the pressure of commercial interests on the Home Government did lead to the use of political power to secure some economic advantages for England at India's expense. The most glaring—perhaps the one indefensible—example was the imposition in 1894 of a countervailing excise duty on Indian cotton piece goods in the interests of Lancashire—ironically enough the holy place of Free Trade. That grievance was remedied in 1926, when, with the support of the newly created Indian Legislature, Sir Basil Blackett removed the cotton excise. The Ottawa agreements resulted in the grant of preference to certain British goods in return for preferences granted to Indian exports to Great Britain, but, in response to a demand from the Legislative Assembly, the agreement was terminated in 1937.

The fiscal autonomy convention, as already explained, has been strictly honoured, even although the Government of India is subordinate to the Home Government. In 1939 India had a favourable trade balance in merchandise of £12,500,000, her exports to the United Kingdom being £43,000,000, against imports of £30,500,000 from the United Kingdom.

At the end of March, 1940, India's sterling debt was about £330,000,000. It is mainly productive capital originating from British investors. Since March, 1940, over £240,000,000 of the sterling debt has been repatriated with general approval. For over 20 years a progressive policy of industrial development has been fostered by the Government, which jealously guards against undue encroachment of outside capital. Yet, with all this, the Government itself at the centre costs India only £60,000,000 annually—much of it going into Indian pockets with the great advance in Indianisation of the services—and in the Provinces in the aggregate the same amount.

The adoption by the Government of India of the policy of discriminating protection, in reversal of a long loyalty to the principles of Free Trade, was one of the first-fruits of the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution. It gave practical expression to the fiscal autonomy convention. Its immediate objective was the protection of the infant steel industry in which the great firm of Tata were the pioneers. It later was applied to the protection of the Indian cotton mill industry against Japanese competition. The story of Indian industry in recent years is one of steady support of indigenous capital. The British India Company's monopoly of the coastal traffic has long been a theme on which Indian critics have dilated. By the advice of the Government of India this is being modified as the result of negotiations between the Company and an Indian syndicate. The

sugar industry of India is protected. The standard of living presents a problem with which the Government of India has consistently wrestled. A serious factor is the load of debt under which the peasant labours owing to the stubbornness of custom and tradition. By encouraging the formation of trade unions the interests of the industrial worker have been furthered. In reform of land tenancy laws, systems of land tenure—often in the teeth of opposition from Indian vested interests—the Government has done much. Co-operative credit organisations have been established under official auspices to mitigate the evil of borrowing at high rates of interest.

Although agriculture is and probably must always be the chief industry in India, India has made remarkable advances in other industries in recent years. The important cotton mill industry comprises 389 mills with about 10,000,000 spindles and 200,000 looms.

The general impression that India has enormous mineral wealth is not correct. But she has quite important deposits of coal and iron ore, besides manganese, mica and bauxite as the chief auxiliary minerals. Before European processes were introduced for the manufacture of pig iron and steel, there was at one time a widespread but primitive iron smelting industry. Stimulus to the steel industry of India was given by the passing of the Protection of Steel Act in 1924. India is now the second largest producer of iron ore in the British Empire, her annual output being about 2,750,000 tons. Her production of steel in a year amounts to over 1,000,000 tons. Bengal, Bihar and Orissa are the provinces in which iron ore is mined for smelting by European methods.

Coal production is about 25,000,000 tons in the year, exports being about 2,000,000 tons. India is the second largest coal producing country of the Empire, the chief coal-mining provinces being Bengal and Bihar. The first Indian coal was cut at Raniganj, Bihar, in 1830.

The manganese industry is about 30 years old. The most important deposits occur in the Central Provinces, Madras, Central India and Mysore. The output of manganese is about 1,000,000 tons a year.

Gold is derived chiefly from Mysore and the annual output is about 300,000 ounces.

The employment of women in underground mines has been completely forbidden as from 1939.

The average daily number of workers employed in Indian factories is 1,750,000.

Labour legislation has covered the whole ground of industrial effort, especially in recent years. India has ratified a very large

proportion of the international conventions signed under the auspices of the International Labour Office.

Emigration of Indian labour to other parts of the Empire is under the control of the Government of India and there is a Standing Emigration Committee of the Central Legislature which assists the Government in the discharge of its functions.

India is indeed the largest sugar producing country in the world, with a potential output far in excess of her own requirements—a productive capacity of about 1,500,000 tons of white sugar annually.

The exports of raw and manufactured jute constitute about a quarter of the total value of the exports of Indian merchandise. The history of wool, flax, hemp, silk and cotton production in India goes back many centuries. Jute has a history of very little more than 100 years but its annual production ranks second only to that of cotton. Sandbags, of which many millions have been sent to the United Kingdom, are made from jute. The Indian jute mills themselves consume 1,167,000 tons of jute and yet India can export raw jute to the amount of 697,000 tons as well as manufactures reaching in some years the figure of 1,000,000 tons.

In the lac industry, one of the most ancient in India, annual production varies between 600,000 cwt. and 1,200,000 cwt. and the exports of lac from 400,000 cwt. to 800,000 cwt.

India is the world's chief supplier of hides and skins, especially now that China in recent years has been compelled to reduce her output.

The manufacture of glass in India on modern lines dates back from the latter part of the 18th century. There are over 100 glass factories in India, and the Government has been able, since the adoption of a policy of discriminating protection, to give this industry effective tariff support.

Coffee was introduced into India in the early part of the 17th century, and it is on record that tiny plants from Mysore in that era started the big plantations in the Netherlands East Indies and Brazil. The industry had many vicissitudes and to-day there are about only 200,000 acres under cultivation producing about 18,000 tons of cured coffee, of which about 10,000 tons is consumed in India, the balance being exported.

India exports much tea, mainly from Assam and Bengal. Assam accounts for more than half the total production, which is proper, as the indigenous tea plant was first discovered in Assam in about 1820. Robert Fortune, of Kew Gardens, who made his famous visit to China in the beginning of the 19th century, is credited with having

brought to India the seeds which gradually helped in developing the plantation of crops and improving the local product. India now produces about 453,000,000 lb. of tea and has 833,000 acres under that crop.

The tobacco industry in India is important. Indian cheroots, generally from the south of India, have long been well known to European smokers, and now there is a flourishing industry which manufactures cigarettes of the modern type largely from tobacco grown in India. Nowadays flue-cured Virginia and country tobaccos are exported to the United Kingdom, Japan and other countries for making cheaper cigarettes.

The Imperial Agricultural Research Institute at New Delhi, formerly at Pusa, has carried on a good deal of research into the methods of growing tobacco for the last thirty years. India produces over 1,300,000,000 lb. of tobacco a year and has 1,500,000 acres under the crop.

The Indian Film Industry is now nearly 30 years old. There are about 1,265 cinemas in India, of which only 265 show imported films. Thus the local industry has a great scope, especially as the requirements of the Indian film fan are different from those of film fans elsewhere, in that much stress is laid upon the length of a film. For a film audience in India does not think it has had value for its money unless the film lasts for five hours.

There are 75 film-producing concerns in India and about £1,500,000 annually is spent in the production of pictures. Film-producing studios are located at many places and the industry has advanced rapidly in recent years, especially since, chiefly under the inspiration of Indian reformers, the early defects in the discipline and repute of the film studios have been removed. To-day the Indian film artist is respected not only for his or her professional skill, but for personal qualities as well.

Opium in India is under strict Government control. In co-operation with international effort, the Government of India has progressively reduced the export of opium, except for medicinal purposes under licence, to a vanishing point. Close supervision is maintained over all licensed vendors in British India. India has made considerable sacrifices in order to facilitate measures against the illicit consumption of opium. By December, 1935, the export of opium for other than medicinal and scientific purposes had been entirely stopped. At present opium is exported only to Burma and a very small quantity to Zanzibar and Pemba and Aden and its dependencies.

CHAPTER X

THE ARMY IN INDIA

Progress in building up the political and constitutional structure of a unified India was made possible by the establishment of ordered government, stable administration and ever-widening freedom for the people. These processes could not have been at work unless India herself had been made secure from outside attack. Who holds the sea, holds India. India's 3,500-mile coastline relies for protection on the ceaseless vigilance of the Royal Navy, in which now the Royal Indian Navy, small though it be, has a proud part. On land, from East to West, in the North, India is shielded by the most gigantic parapet in the world. The mighty Himalayas stand snowclad and impassable against the invader.

In the North-West there is a different tale to tell. For centuries the invader found in the Kohat and Khyber Passes entry to the fertile plains of Northern India. Fifty miles north of Delhi is the little village of Panipat. There, five times in history a battle has decided the destinies of India. Each time the invader won, despite fierce gallantry opposed to him. But since the British came, the Army in India, composed of British and Indian troops, has "shuttered up the gateway of the North" and preserved India from external attack from that direction.

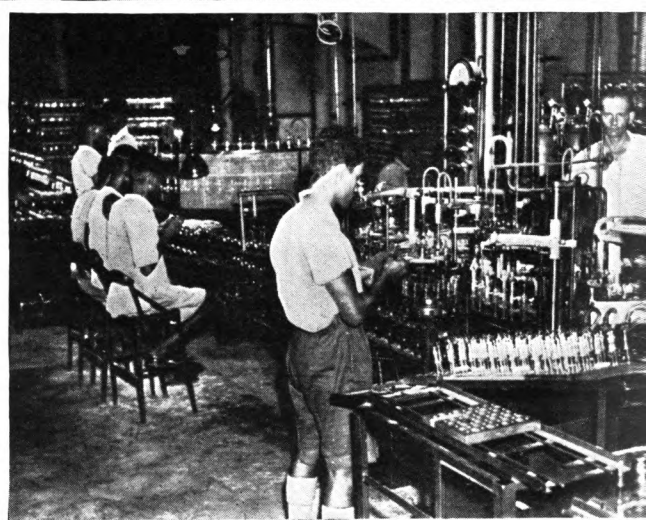
The Army in India comprises the Indian Army and British troops stationed in India. In fact, though not in name, it has existed for nearly 300 years. At first it consisted of European troops only. Then it was divided into three presidency armies, each of these armies being subdivided into Royal Troops, Company's European Troops and Company's Indian Troops.

In 1860 the Queen's and the Company's European Troops were absorbed into the British Army in India, the Indian troops becoming at the same time part of Her Majesty's Forces. The change of the name of the Indian troops to the Indian Army was incidental to Lord Kitchener's re-organisation of 1903.

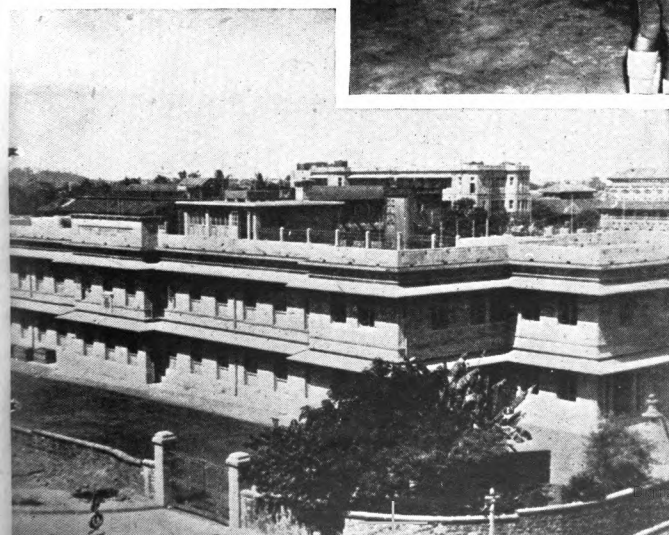
The Army in India to-day is divided into three commands: the Northern, Eastern and Southern, with headquarters at Rawalpindi, Naini Tal and Poona. There is also a Western Independent District (formerly Western Command) with headquarters at Quetta. It will thus be seen that the bulk of the Army in India is concentrated north of the Ganges, an indication that the primary rôle of the Army has been the defence of the North-West Frontier of India.



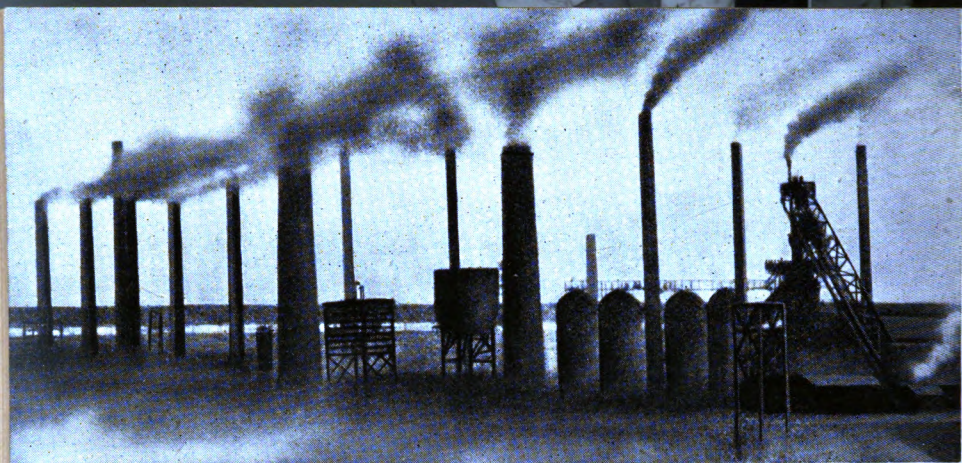
*Students in the Zoological
Laboratory at Aligarh
Muslim University.*



*Workers in an
Electric Lamp Fac-
tory, Calcutta.*



*Byramjee Jeejeebhoy
Hospital for Children.*



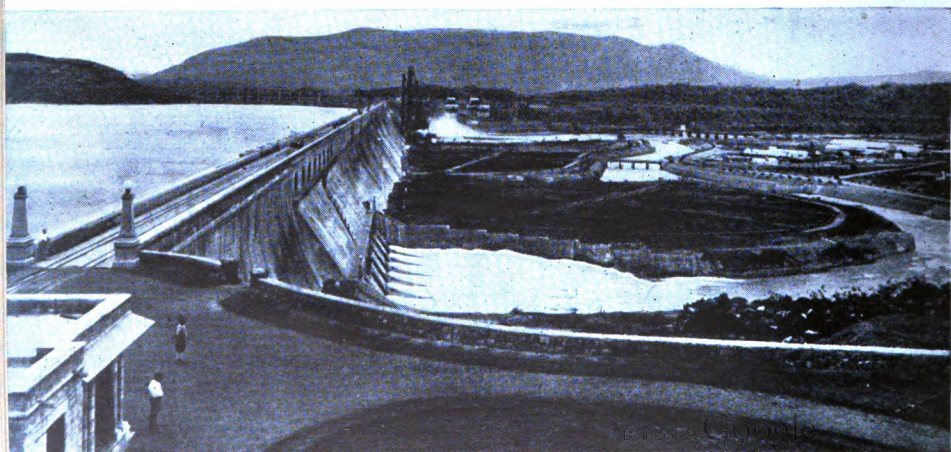
The Steelworks at Jamshedpur, the largest plant of its kind in the British Empire.

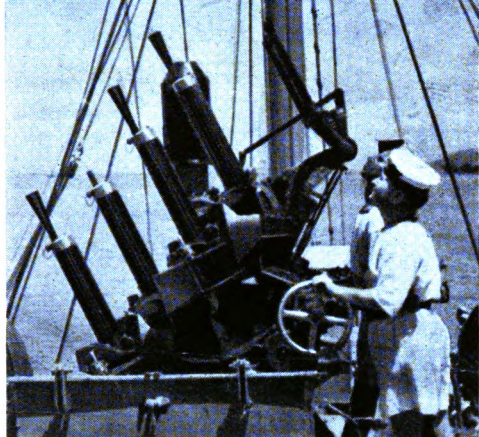


*A busy scene in the
Bombay Stock Exchange.*



*Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai (left), now India's first
Agent-General in the U.S.A., chatting with Mr.
Hossain Imam, leader of the Muslim League Party
in the Council of State, at the annual reception given
by members of the Indian Press.*

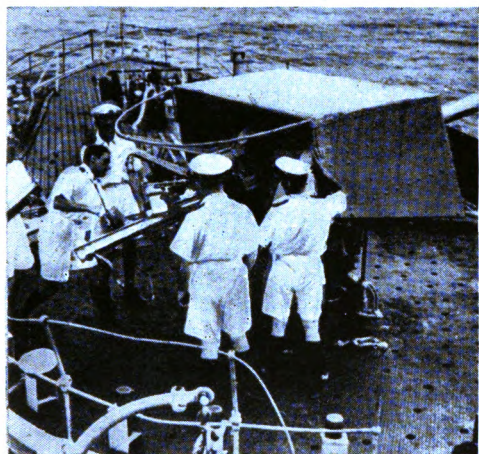




A sloop of the Royal Indian Navy at anti-aircraft practice near Bombay.



*The Royal Indian Navy:
A sloop comes into dry dock.*



Officers of the Naval Reserve at gunnery practice in a sloop of India's Coastal Defence.



Indians in a light tank on manoeuvres.



Indian Artillery in training.

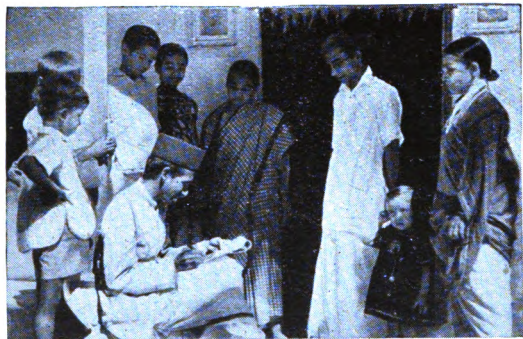


Light machine-gunners training in India.



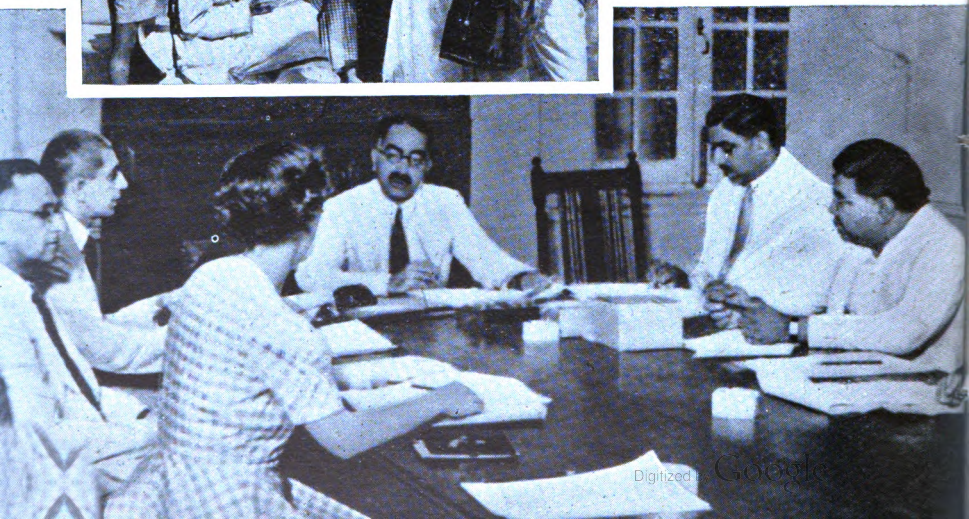
Th. Parmeshwar Singh, who fought at Tobruk, gives an address in his home town of Ballia, United Provinces.

*Right :
Two Members of the Indian Civil Service at work in their office in New Delhi.*



The Census, 1941. An enumerator visits a family in South India.

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Provincial Premier, Punjab, presides at a meeting in Lahore of the War Committee, Indian Red Cross Society and St. John's Ambulance Association.



The Indian Army has two main categories of officers: those holding the King's Commission and those holding the Viceroy's Commission. The latter are all Indians and the former were all British until Indians were made eligible for King's Commissions after the last war as a recognition of the loyalty and gallantry displayed by all ranks of the Indian Army during that war. Since then the door for entry of Indians into the King's Commissioned ranks of the Indian Army has been widened. To accelerate the process of Indianisation of these ranks the Government decided that eight units (subsequently extended to sixteen) should be closed to any further posting of British officers. This scheme has now been abandoned in order to facilitate the absorption of Indian King's Commissioned officers into the Indian Army as expanded to meet the demands of the present war. An Indian Military Academy has been in existence at Dehra Dun since October, 1932, to obviate the difficulties experienced in obtaining a sufficient number of Indian King's Commissioned officers from Sandhurst.

The Indian Regiments have long traditions of service in all parts of the world and the Indian Army is a professional army based on voluntary recruitment. There has been the closest comradeship between the British or King's Commissioned officers, the Viceroy's Commissioned officers and the ranks of the various units. Special orders have been instituted for recognition of their gallantry in the field. For example, the Indian Order of Merit was instituted by Queen Victoria in 1837. This decoration is given for valour judged by standards as high as those which qualify for the Victoria Cross gazetted 17 years later. At that time the Home Government intended the Victoria Cross to be awardable to all soldiers and sailors of the Empire alike, but the Government of India, possibly in jealous regard for the prestige of the Indian Order of Merit, did not agree and pointed out that to the Indian Order of Merit was attached an annual monetary reward like that given with the Victoria Cross. As time went on, the anomaly of this limitation was recognised and in 1911, at the Royal Durbar at Delhi, the King-Emperor announced its removal.

The first award of the Victoria Cross under this decision was made in 1914, when Naik Khudadad Khan of the 129th Baluchis gained "the most enviable order" in France. The first V.C. to be won by an Indian in the present war was awarded in 1941 to 2nd-Lt. Premindra Singh Bhagat, 1st Royal Bombay Sappers and Miners, a former Dehra Dun cadet, for gallantry in Abyssinia. The Indian Distinguished Service Medal, equivalent to the British D.C.M., is another decoration available to soldiers of the Indian Army, and the Order of British

India established in 1837 is awarded to Indian officers for long and faithful service.

The Indian Army includes ten regiments of Gurkhas, subjects of the independent Kingdom of Nepal. They are recruited under treaty with Nepal. They are officered by British and Gurkha officers on the same lines as apply to Indian units. The Prime Minister of Nepal is honorary Colonel of all of them. They are rifle regiments and the oldest are the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Gurkhas, each of which was raised in 1815—the year of Waterloo.

In the Central Government's Budget military expenditure is a heavy item owing to the geographical and political situation of India. The need for modernisation of the Indian Army has induced the British Government recently to make a grant of £34,000,000, three-quarters of which was a free gift to India, in order to preserve India's defences on an effective scale.

It has been noted that the Army in India has hitherto looked to the North-West, the traditional pathway of the invader.

The Frontier problem is complicated by the fact that between a certain strip of the Frontier proper and the administrative border there is a "no-man's land" where dwell tribesmen split up into clans with no common leadership, but bound loosely together by their Pathan blood and their allegiance to Islam. Over these tribesmen, the Government exercises a loose supervision and exacts recognition of its suzerainty, but it does not interfere with the tribesmen so long as they do not break the peace. The tribesmen's problem is mainly economic. The rugged country, bitterly cold in the winter and torrid in the summer, scarred by ravines and gaunt hills, breeds faster than it feeds. By constructing roads into the heart of this "no man's land" the Government is gradually encouraging the Pathan warrior to turn to peaceful pursuits. To this end measures for improving the precarious irrigation of his crops have been devised, but in the meantime, watch and ward have to be kept and frontier operations are almost part of the routine of the Army in India.

The ideal solution would be to disarm the tribesmen up to the actual frontier line and bring the whole area under administrative control. The cost in lives and money makes such an effort impracticable, even if it could be defended on other grounds. In this "no man's land" there are 500,000 fighting men, 300,000 of them armed with modern rifles—sturdy fighters knowing every inch of the ground and brought up from boyhood to regard warfare as a secondary occupation. They bear a strong likeness to the Scottish Highlanders of the 17th century.

In the present war the Indian Army is playing a great part. The frontiers of India have extended to Egypt and Malaya. Already in Africa Indian troops have fulfilled expectations justifiably based on the glorious traditions of the past, and the end of the story is not yet. The comradeship of British and Indians, first in the armies of the East India Company and then in the Indian Army itself, has been not merely a guarantee of the defence of India, but also the inspiring symbol of the partnership, now far-reaching and comprehensive, between British and Indians in the administration.

The first British regiment to land in India was the 39th Foot—now the 1st Battalion of the Dorsetshire Regiment—which arrived in Madras in 1754 and thereupon adopted the appropriate title of “*Primus in Indis*”. One hundred and sixty years later the first Territorial contingent came to India and landed in Bombay, in order to release regular British units for service in France. By special arrangement the order of the convoy was changed at the last moment to permit the Territorial Battalion of the Dorsetshire Regiment, at its request, to carry on the regimental tradition and to be the first Territorial unit to put foot on Indian soil.

British rule in India has not been faultless. The achievements here recorded are not purely British in their origin, for, as will have been seen, Indians have played their full part in the development of modern India. It is human to err. Errors, some of them grave, there must have been in tackling so vast a problem. Yet, with that reservation, the record of Great Britain in India may be regarded with pride. Throughout that splendid association India has owed much to the genius of her own people, to the deep-rooted culture of her own institutions and to the magnificent qualities of the different races which compose the Indian nation. In short, tribute should be paid to the team work of British and Indians in giving the final strokes to the picture of present-day India.

To this joint effort the officers and men of the Indian Army have made therefore an important contribution. Their close co-operation, their understanding of each other, has had an extensive influence on the life of India. Now, modern conditions, both in the Army and in constitutional matters, have impelled recruitment on a still wider basis covering a greater section of India than before. As in the Army, so in civil life, does India owe much to the talents of her people. On the Bench, in the Secretariat, in Finance and Commerce, in Medicine, in engineering skill, scientific research, in the Arts and in Literature, Indians have long served their country well. That in itself should be a guarantee that the structure for which

both British and Indians have been responsible is built on sound and durable foundations.

They have a right to be proud of India's position to-day. Complacency is, however, not to be encouraged. There is so much to do that healthy dissatisfaction should rather be the keynote. The Act of 1935 provided for the transference of more power from British to Indian hands. For the first time Indian Ministers controlled provincial administrations. The recent expansion of the Central Government to give an Indian majority in the Viceroy's Council marked yet another important step in that development and the Prime Minister's recent statement in Parliament is an earnest of further advance.

Although it is very natural that Indian political claims should at times be supported by criticisms, and the eagerness of the claimants is likely to perceive reluctance or undue caution on the British side, it is unwise to dwell overmuch on the past and, above all, to indulge in recrimination. Such an effort to belittle the achievements of their predecessors does less than justice to the Indians who now are assuming richer responsibilities. For it tends to underestimate the difficulties in the way of further achievement and so sow the seeds of dangerous disappointment in the future.

When the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was written the Great War was in progress. It concluded with the significant remark that while it was being penned the destinies of India were being decided on the battlefields of France. To-day, when Indian troops, standing shoulder to shoulder with their comrades from all parts of the Empire, are combating Japanese as well as Nazi aggression, history is again repeating itself.

Every Indian knows full well, whatever may be the differences of opinion between certain parties and the British Government, that the victory of Great Britain in this present worldwide struggle is the only guarantee of India's continued progress and national security.

**SOME INDIAN
STATISTICS**

SOME INDIAN STATISTICS

*NOTE.—All figures of population and area are to the nearest thousand
and according to the census of 1941*

Total area of India	...	1,576,000 square miles
Total area of British India		886,000 square miles
Total area of Indian States		690,000 square miles
Total population of India		388,800,000
Total population of British India		295,827,000
Total population of Indian States		92,973,000

CENTRAL

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Council of State	...	32 elected members.	26 nominated members.
Legislative Assembly	...	102 elected members.	39 nominated members.
Electorate for Central Legislative Assembly at the last election held in 1934	...	...	1,416,000

POPULATION OF THE PROVINCES OF BRITISH INDIA

ASSAM	10,205,000
BENGAL	60,314,000
BIHAR	36,340,000
BOMBAY	20,858,000
CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR ...	16,822,000
MADRAS	49,342,000
N.W. FRONTIER PROVINCE	3,038,000
ORISSA	8,729,000
PUNJAB	28,419,000
SIND	4,537,000
UNITED PROVINCES	55,021,000

Population of Calcutta	2,108,900	} The three largest cities in British India
Bombay	1,488,300	
Madras	777,500	
Hyderabad (with Secunderabad)	728,700	} The largest city in the Indian States

PRINTED IN ENGLAND BY SPOTTISWOODE, BALLANTYNE AND CO. LTD.
LONDON, COLCHESTER AND ETON—51-2304



entry?

marks?
diag.



PLAYING THEIR PART

SPECIMEN OF BRITISH WAR
LITERATURE SUPPLIED FOR
RECORD PURPOSES ONLY

THE WAR EFFORT OF THE

BRITISH COLONIAL EMPIRE

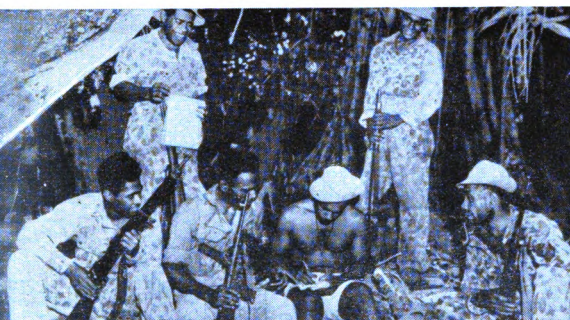
No. 5

Digitized by Google

Against Japan



Men of the Solomon Islands Defence Force whose daring guerrilla activities the Japanese invader learnt to fear.



Above: The Emir of Katsina broadcasting to West African troops during his tour of India and the Burma battle Front.

Left: Some of the Fiji Commandos who were first in action with Allied forces in New Georgia, against the Japanese.



Preparing to fight the Japanese. Sergeant Peter Levy, from Sierra Leone, in training, practises with an anti-tank rifle.



Extreme left: Private Kirop, a Marakwet tribesman from Kenya, on guard at the front in Burma.

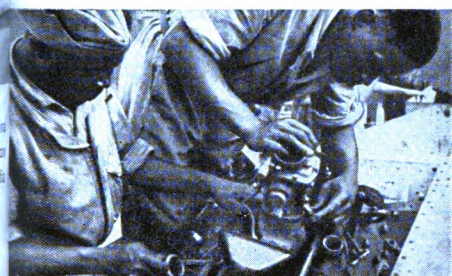
A Kakamega tribesman from Kenya writes a letter home from the Burma Front.



Skilled Tradesmen

in the Army

An East African mechanic rewinds an armature. The skill he has acquired as an Army tradesman will be useful to him when he goes home after the war.



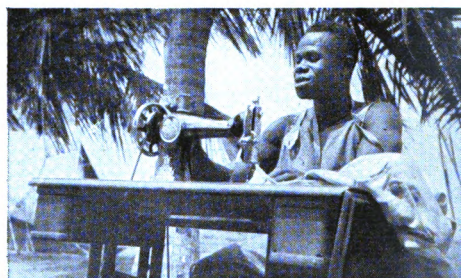
East African Pioneers making minor adjustments to a Bren-gun carrier's engine after overhaul.



Mary Saryia, West Africa, inspects hands of African student cooks under her instruction.



East African soldiers training to become signals operators at Kenya's Signal Training Centre.



A tailor by trade, Corporal Amarh is also a blacksmith with the West African Engineers.



Left: John Wade, from Montserrat, B.W.I., is now a technician in Britain.

Right: Swaziland Pioneer operates a donkey-engine, off-loading a cargo vessel.



Warriors of

PORTRAITS



Lionel Kirton, of British Guiana, who served with the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers.



Hezekiah Danial Tebbs is a Second Radio Officer. His home is in Gambia, West Africa.



Flying Officer Dick Fairweather (R.A.F.), British Honduras, is reported "Missing Believed Killed."



C.J. Joshua came from the quiet, lonely island of St. Helena to fight in the defence of freedom.



Pilot Officer O. R. Kelsick is a West Indian from Montserrat. Wears the R.A.F. pilot's wings.



Leonard Gonsalves, Empire fighting man from the West Indies, has his home in St. Vincent.

the Empire

TO HONOR EARLE



Mohamed Adam left Burroo, British Somaliland, to take his place among those who serve the Empire.



Ordinary Seaman P. E. Biggs serves with the Royal Navy. He comes from the Falkland Islands.



Aircraftman I. Barwani. His home is in Zanzibar, East Africa. He serves with the R.A.F.



Y. Limki, from the sugar island of Mauritius, came to Britain to fight the common enemy.



Corporal Iris Orda, of the A.T.S., whose home is in Gibraltar, has rendered valuable service.

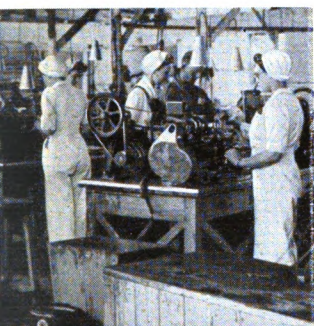


Flight Lieutenant G. H. Farara and Nurse Farara both come from Basseterre, St. Kitts, B.W.I.

Women Work for Victory



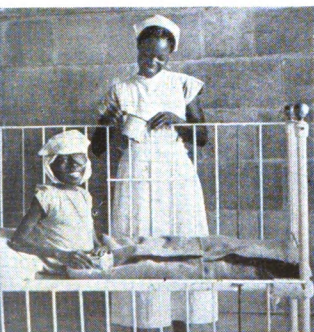
African nurses from the Marie Louise Hospital, Accra, Gold Coast, examine a small patient.



Extreme left : Women munition workers doing precision work at Heavy Repair shops in Nairobi, Kenya, East Africa.



Cyprus Soldiers' Aid Society. Miss Palma and Mrs. Galib packing parcels for Cypriot soldiers serving abroad.



A cheerful nurse keeps a young patient amused at Lagos Hospital, Nigeria. West Africa.



Women workers at an East African Electrical and Mechanical Engineers repair workshop.



F. Deterville, St. Lucia, with the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Decorated for Bravery

The late Corporal Sefanaia Sukanaivalu, the first Fijian V.C., gave his life for his comrades.



Flt.-Lt. P. L. U. Cross, Trinidad, awarded the D.S.O. and D.F.C.



Lance-Corporal Keje Bonney, from West Africa, receives his Africa Star on the Burma Front.



Corporal Ramelusi Druma, of the Fiji Labour Corps, who has been awarded the B.E.M.



For conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty, Private Awori, of the East African Pioneer Corps, was awarded the British Empire Medal.



For bravery during an advance in Burma, Lance-Corporal Bwaidu, from West Africa, was awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal.

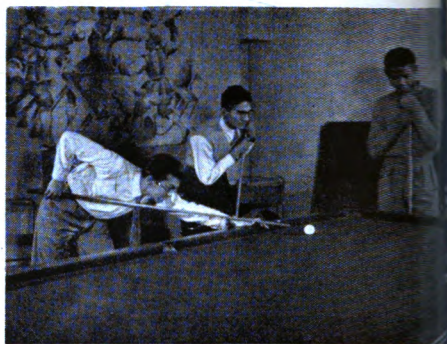
Colonials' London Club



Colonial Centre, residential club in London for students and other visitors from the Colonies, which was damaged by a flying bomb, now has smart new premises at Raeburn House, 15, Collingham Gardens, Earls Court, London, S.W.5, shown in the picture on the left.



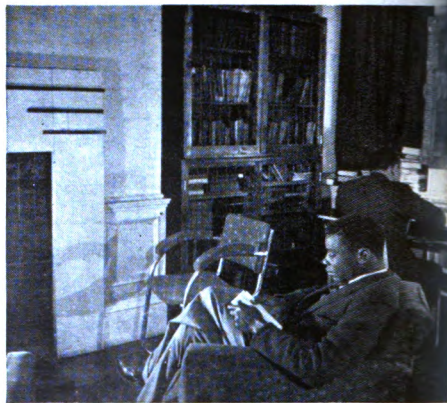
In the lounge at Colonial Centre. Visitors from East and West Africa, from the West Indies, and many other territories meet at the Centre.



A billiards table is available in one of the recreation rooms for the use of members and their guests.



Beer, sandwiches and coffee are served at the bar. The man seated on the left is the receptionist—knows practically everybody.



A fire, a comfortable chair in which to relax, and a good book are some of the things a working man enjoys most after dinner.

✓
DEFENSE

261 Brit. Ministry of Information

**PROGRESS TOWARDS
SELF-GOVERNMENT
in the
British Colonies**

July 1945
SPECIMEN OF BRITISH WAR
LITERATURE SUPPLIED FOR
RECORD PURPOSES ONLY

by

Josephine Kamm

With a Foreword by

VINCENT HARLOW, M.A., D.Litt.

Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London

**PROGRESS TOWARDS SELF - GOVERNMENT IN THE
BRITISH COLONIES**

●

[illegible]

Many is a Joint United Kingdom —
Australia — New Zealand Alliance.

PROGRESS TOWARDS SELF-GOVERNMENT

in the
British Colonies

by
Josephine Kamm



With a Foreword by
VINCENT HARLOW, M.A., D.Litt.
Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the
University of London

CONTENTS

Foreword - - - - -	page 7
Introduction - - - - -	page 8
Ceylon - - - - -	page 12
Malta - - - - -	page 14
The West Indies - - - - -	page 16
Indirect Rule in Nigeria - - - - -	page 24
British Tropical Africa - - - - -	page 31
<i>East Africa</i> - - - - -	page 31
<i>West Africa</i> - - - - -	page 37
Fiji - - - - -	page 43
The Seychelles - - - - -	page 45
Conclusion - - - - -	page 46
Appendix - - - - -	page 46

DIAGRAMS :

The British Colonies - - - - -	page 4
The Ladder of Self-Government - - - - -	page 9
How a Colony is Administered - - - - -	page 15
Typical Colonial Establishment - - - - -	page 38

Foreword

THE declared aim of British colonial policy is to further the progress of dependent peoples in the management of their own affairs as rapidly and as fully as their own capacity permits. That is a generalisation of such import for the future of the British people and of the world at large that it naturally provokes a desire to know how this process of "emergent evolution" is getting on.

The present pamphlet is in the nature of a Progress Report. It puts on record the various constitutional developments which have taken place among the fifty-odd British overseas dependencies since 1939. A comprehensive factual survey of this kind has not, so far as I am aware, previously been attempted. While Britain has been fighting for her life in the midst of so many and such great dangers, it would not have been surprising if she had, as it were, declared a constitutional *moratorium* with a promise that political advance would be resumed after security had been re-established. It is a significant commentary on the vitality of British political ideas that their dynamic character has persisted in finding expression—in the islands of the West Indies and the Pacific and among remote African tribes—even at a time when Britain herself was on the edge of destruction.

No fair-minded critic who examines the record of political progress and sets alongside it the vitally important work in social and economic construction which is being planned and which will be carried out (at the British taxpayers' expense) under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and 1945 will be disposed to deny that British colonial policy is tackling the job in the right way. What particularly impresses the observer is the immense size and complexity of the task for which the citizens of Britain are ultimately responsible and with which their own future welfare is so intimately associated. Here in Britain it is of the utmost importance that realisation of this fact should be sharpened and deepened : and it is scarcely less important that foreign Powers, controlling great domestic markets, should realise that they too have a responsibility in the matter since the welfare of backward peoples is primarily dependent on being able to sell cash crops and at reasonable prices.

What is sometimes known as the British Colonial Empire is in one sense a vast laboratory where the most varied experiments are being conducted in the science of community-building. The time is rapidly approaching when the well-being of the world will depend as never before on the success or failure of creative work of this sort.

Introduction

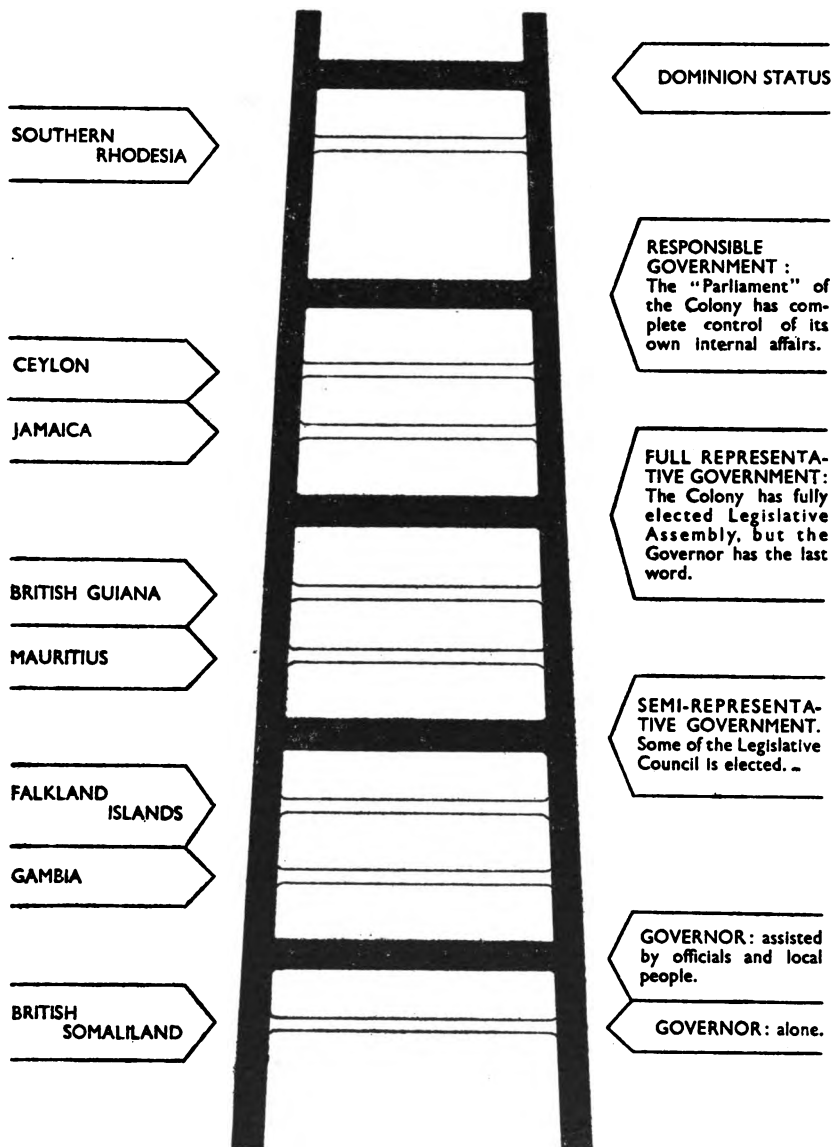
The Peoples of the Colonial Empire and their Government . . .

"THE striking feature of the British Empire is its diversity of peoples and conditions. We have been obliged to establish and operate systems of administration distinguished above all by variety, flexibility and elasticity." These are the words of Lord Cranborne, as Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1942. "We have no cut and dried pattern," he added. "We have adopted and adapted existing systems, changing them readily as the need arose and experience taught."

Lord Cranborne's statement illustrates an essential characteristic of colonial policy, a policy which even in the strain and anxiety of total war fosters and encourages political progress. It is a policy with one ultimate goal—self-government for the Colonial Empire within the framework of the Commonwealth. The steps by which this self-government can be achieved may (and do) differ from territory to territory. The aim is to educate the people to assume as rapidly as possible the greatest measure of responsibility in their own government along the lines best suited to their own capacity.

If political advance is to be genuine and lasting, its pace must correspond to the cultural and economic development of the people concerned. Where there is a wide diversity of peoples, different communities will be found at different stages and advancing at different rates. In the Colonial Empire, which stretches over the tropics from the West Indies across Africa to the islands of the Pacific, live some 63 million people in more than fifty different territories. Only a small proportion of these people is of European stock ; the rest are coloured people, two-thirds of them Africans and the majority of the remaining third Asiatics. Consider, for example, the people of Ceylon, heirs to an ancient Asiatic civilisation ; the sturdy peasants of Malta and Cyprus in whose making the diverse civilisations of the Mediterranean have all played a part. Then turn to British Africa with its 43 million inhabitants. These people are all Africans, but they spring from widely differing stocks, speak many different tongues and are at all sorts of levels of culture and intelligence. Take a single territory—Nigeria in West Africa. Here the vast Moslem emirates of the north contrast sharply with the pagan kingdoms of the south, while there is little in common between tribes of nomads driving their cattle from one pasture to another and the Government officials, lawyers and doctors educated in the European tradition.

THE LADDER OF SELF-GOVERNMENT



NOTE : There are many rungs in between, of course, because each Colony is different, and therefore climbs at its own pace.

Reproduced by permission of the War Office

Political Advance must be accompanied by Social and Economic Progress . . .

UNTIL recent years Britain was chiefly concerned with providing the dependencies with justice and security and promoting their progress towards self-government. Since the 1920's, however, it has been increasingly recognised that political advance is unreal unless it is reinforced by social and economic development. As so many of the peoples of the Colonial Empire are backward or primitive, their chances as citizens of self-governing communities are slight unless they are properly nourished as the result of improved methods of agriculture, free from the more insidious forms of disease, and adequately educated, and unless the economy of their countries is assured and the necessary communications to exploit that economy are well developed. In every area Britain is faced, in varying degrees of intensity, with the gigantic problem of raising the standard of living of the people and the challenge has been accepted. It is not within the scope of this pamphlet to describe the schemes for social and economic improvement which are being put into practice nor the plans which are being made for the future, but it must never be forgotten how vital a part they play.

Different Forms of Government . . .

IT stands to reason that with this vast range of communities no single form of government could be devised. Only forty years ago Africa was prey to slavery and tribal warfare and the Pacific Islands to head-hunting and cannibalism. There is, therefore, no hard and fast rule of government but a number of separate forms each and all of them capable of expansion stage by stage to self-rule. Some of the British dependencies are known as colonies, some as protectorates and others as protected states. With them are administered former German colonies mandated to Britain after the war of 1914-18. There are certain legal differences in the status of colonies and protectorates. Thus, while a colony is British territory under the Crown, in a protectorate the Crown exercises authority without annexing the territory. In protected states authority is vested in the sovereign of each state and not in the Crown which derives its functions from treaty arrangements conferring certain powers and duties upon it. For administrative purposes, however, the general framework is the same.

The Ladder of Political Progress . . .

THE common denominator of all these dependencies is the Governor, appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London and directly responsible to him. The Secretary of State, in his turn, is responsible to the British public through its elected representatives in Parliament. The authority of the Governor varies in inverse ratio to the measure of responsibility which

the people he governs have learned to assume. As their responsibility increases so his lessens.

The various stages through which the authority of the people can develop are sometimes likened to the different rungs of a ladder. Between the bottom and the top there is scope for many intermediate steps but their broad stages are these.

Dependencies administered by a Governor alone . . .

ON the lowest rung stand dependencies administered by a Governor alone whose authority is supreme, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State.

Governor assisted by a Nominated Council . . .

NEXT come dependencies where the Governor, exercising all legislative and executive functions, is assisted by a nominated council composed of the chief European officers—the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer and certain other heads of departments or local inhabitants. In these dependencies, although the Governor can veto the demands of the members of his council, they are empowered to appeal to the Secretary of State if they so desire.

A Legislative Council is added . . .

A STEP higher and we can see the makings of a regular constitution. Here the Governor with his nominated Executive Council which he is required to consult on all save the most urgent matters, has the additional assistance of a Legislative Council, a law-making, tax-raising body. The Legislative Council at first consists entirely of nominated official members, but as soon as the people are politically ready, one or more of them are appointed to serve on it, and the Council is later expanded to include elected members. Gradually the elected element is increased until the elected members are in a majority, first over the nominated unofficial members, and then over the nominated unofficial and the official members combined.

Representative Government . . .

ANOTHER step and we arrive at Representative Government. This often takes the form of a Legislative Assembly, entirely elected, something on the lines of the British House of Commons, and a nominated Legislative Council as an Upper House. These two bodies together form the Legislature. The Executive Council is still appointed by the Crown on the advice of the Governor, but the latter begins to nominate to it certain members of the Assembly.

At this stage the elected representatives of the people, who form the Lower House, control taxation and have at the least a very large voice in all legislative and executive matters. In some cases, such as the colonies of Bermuda, the Bahamas and Barbados, the Legislature, comprising the nominated Legislative Council and the elected House of Assembly, has the final voice in matters of legislation and taxation although the Governor possesses the power of veto, which has not in fact been used in those colonies for a very large number of years. Although therefore it may be said that in such colonies the ultimate responsibility rests with the Governor, and through him with the Secretary of State, he does not in fact possess the ultimate power which normally accompanies responsibility, since in the vital fields of legislation and finance he has in the last resort only a negative voice.

Responsible Government . . .

At the top of the ladder, but below the status of a Dominion, are dependencies which have achieved Responsible Government. This means that the Executive Council is transformed into a Cabinet or Board of Ministers representing the majority party of a fully developed parliament and that it guides and advises the Governor on practically every aspect of internal policy affecting the territory. This is the essential feature of parliamentary democracy as practised in Britain. Responsibility, formerly vested in the Governor, is now assumed by the Ministers who are directly answerable to the people.

Ceylon already has a form of Responsible Government which will shortly be further amplified, and Malta has been promised full Responsible Government when the war is over. Jamaica now has a bi-cameral Legislature with representatives on the Executive Council. In some of the other West Indian dependencies, in East and West Africa, in Fiji and in the Seychelles there have been advances during the five years of the present war. These changes will be reviewed in the chapters which follow.

CEYLON

Development of Representative Institutions in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries . . .

Most politically advanced of all the territories of the Colonial Empire to-day is Ceylon. Captured from the Dutch, the island was made a dependency of India in 1796 under a dual civil and military control divided between the Crown and the East India Company. In 1802 Company control came to an end, and, as a Crown Colony, Ceylon was administered for thirty years by a Governor with the assistance of an Advisory Council.

In 1833 the people of Ceylon were first represented in their own government, for it was in that year that a Legislative Council containing European and native members nominated by the Governor was established. This Council

provided a valuable opportunity for all sections of the community to discuss their grievances and express their wishes, an opportunity which was amplified by the complete freedom of the Press. Earlier in the century, after a corrupt system of local government had been swept away, the Ceylon civil service was brought into being, and, equally important, a judicial system consisting of two branches, one for Europeans and one for Ceylonese.

Throughout the nineteenth century the British Government laboured conscientiously in an endeavour to bring the people of Ceylon to the stage of political development when they could be given control of their internal policy. This was no easy task in a country where the demands of the indigenous Sinhalese and the Tamils (both Indian- and Ceylon-born) were often in conflict, but the problem of welding diverse cultural and racial elements into a united whole had to be faced. It is a significant fact that a hundred years before the League of Nations gave expression to the theory of the trusteeship of native peoples the Government of Ceylon was acting according to the same principle. Under British administration political growth was accompanied by great strides in social and economic progress. Irrigation works long abandoned were restored, a magnificent network of roads and railways was provided and large areas of jungle were reclaimed for agriculture, the island's chief pursuit ; while the prosperity of the tea, coconut and plumbago industries made available large sums of money, which have been spent on the development of agriculture and on educational and medical facilities.

Political Progress—1927-44 . . .

POLITICALLY, a series of alterations and amendments in the constitution culminated in the findings of the famous Donoughmore Commission in 1927-8 and in 1931 a new constitution, based on these findings, came into force. Under it a Legislative Council was replaced by a State Council consisting of 50 members elected for territorial constituencies on the basis of universal adult suffrage. With the Governor's assent, all ordinances were enacted by the State Council which, for the control of internal affairs, was divided into seven Executive Committees. Each of these Committees exercised general control over one of the groups into which the Government Departments were divided, namely, Home Affairs, Education, Agriculture and Lands, Local Administration, Labour, Industry and Commerce, Public Health, Communications and Works, and each Committee elected its own chairman—the Minister. Control was thus vested in separate Ministries, the enactments of which were subject on important questions to the approval of the State Council.

Further advance is now at hand. In 1941 the British Government gave an undertaking to review the constitutional position " by means of a Commission or Conference " as soon as practicable after the end of the war. In 1943 this undertaking was reaffirmed in a statement which emphasised that " the post-war re-examination of the reform of the Ceylon Constitution, to which His Majesty's Government stands pledged, will be directed towards the grant to

Ceylon by Order of His Majesty in Council, of full responsible Government under the Crown in all matters of internal civil administration." The 1943 statement, which defined Britain's continuing responsibility for the conduct of defence and foreign affairs and for certain measures affecting currency, the rights of racial and religious communities and of British subjects not residing on the island, went further than the statement of 1941. It gave Ceylon's Ministers the opportunity to start the work of drafting their own constitution and of defining the broad limits within which it might be framed. And, in order to ensure that the constitution would be acceptable to the people of Ceylon, it laid it down that implementation must depend on the approval of three-quarters of the members of the State Council.

By the summer of 1944 the Ceylon Board of Ministers had completed a draft scheme which was submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. On July 5th he was able to announce in the House of Commons that although it had originally been intended that examination of any proposals must wait until the end of the war, consideration of the new constitution was to be hastened by the appointment of a commission which would visit the island (probably towards the end of 1944) to examine the scheme. It was later announced that Lord Soulbury would be Chairman of the Commission, whose terms of reference would include : examination and discussion of any proposals for constitutional reform ; " and after consultation with various interests in the island, including minority communities, concerned with the subject of constitutional reform, to advise His Majesty's Government on all measures necessary to attain that object."

Their future lies with the people of Ceylon themselves. They stand on the threshold of an era in which they have an all-important part to play.

MALTA

THROUGHOUT a history which dates from the Stone Age Malta (which is the largest of the small group called the Maltese Islands) has been occupied by many different peoples including the Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Normans and Spaniards. In 1798 Napoleon and his army on their way to Egypt seized Malta from the crusading Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who had occupied it for over 200 years. The Maltese appealed to Britain for help and, as a result, the Royal Navy with the help of the Maltese besieged the French garrison in the harbour town of Valletta until it surrendered in 1800. The Treaty of Amiens in 1802 provided for the restoration of Malta to the Knights. But the Maltese people strongly protested and petitioned for the return of the British, and in 1814 Malta was recognised by the Treaty of Paris as part of the British Empire.

From 1849 onwards the people shared in their own government and after the war of 1914-18 they were accorded internal self-government with a Cabinet of Ministers and a bi-cameral legislature consisting of a Senate and an elected Assembly. Internal party conflict aggravated by Italian Fascist interference

HOW A COLONY IS ADMINISTERED



PARLIAMENT

SECRETARY
OF STATE FOR
THE COLONIES

GOVERNOR

RESIDENT

DISTRICT
COMMISSIONER

NATIVE AUTHORITY;
PARAMOUNT CHIEF
AND COUNCIL

TRIBAL CHIEFS

VILLAGE
HEADMAN



led first to the suspension and finally to the withdrawal of the constitution in 1933 in favour of Crown Colony rule under a Governor assisted by a nominated Executive Council.

In 1938, however, internal differences having been resolved, the Secretary of State announced the grant of a new constitution to Malta providing for a Legislature to be known as the "Council of Government" composed of 8 official members, 2 unofficial nominated members, and 10 elected members. The Maltese people were thus once more accorded, through their elected members, a measure of responsibility for the conduct of their own affairs. Soon they are to enjoy a far greater measure of responsibility, for the Secretary of State announced in 1943 that Malta is to have a new constitution providing for responsible Government in the conduct of internal affairs as soon after the war as the necessary examination of the constitutional, financial and administrative questions involved can be completed.

THE WEST INDIES

SCATTERED across the Caribbean Sea lie the islands of the British West Indies, the most important among them being Jamaica, the Leeward and Windward groups, Barbados and Trinidad. British Guiana in South America and British Honduras on the mainland of Central America, and the Bahama Islands which fringe the Atlantic Ocean from the coast of Florida to Cuba and Haiti, are also customarily included in the West Indies for purposes of a political survey, although geographically the inclusion of these three colonies is inexact. In the present survey it is also convenient to include the isolated Bermuda Islands in the Atlantic.

A Decline in Economic Prosperity leads to the loss of Political Responsibility . . .

THE history of the West Indies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is the story of a phenomenal rise in economic prosperity accompanied by very wide powers of self-government for European settlers, followed in the nineteenth century by a steep economic decline which resulted in nearly all of the dependencies in the loss of self-government and the substitution of direct political control. The third part of the story which we can see to-day is of another rise towards self-government.

In the early days the West Indies enjoyed great prosperity as producers of sugar and the European planters, through elected legislatures closely resembling those of the colonies on the North American mainland, managed to a considerable extent their own local affairs. In 1833 came the emancipation of the slaves who had been imported to work on the sugar plantations. This caused an acute scarcity of labour and, coupled with the gradual abolition of tariff preferences in the British markets, brought the West Indies perilously near to bankruptcy. As they lost their dominant position as the principal

suppliers of sugar to Europe, so extreme poverty and all that goes with poverty—bad housing, lack of adequate health and educational services, and so on—became widespread. And this situation did not apply only in the British dependencies, it was to become prevalent also in the territories under Dutch, French and American jurisdiction.

Social and economic changes brought about by the deteriorating position of the Colonies resulted in most cases in legislatures which were not representative and whose members were incapable of discharging their duties satisfactorily, and in the incapacity of the Colonial Governments to bear their financial responsibilities. The British Government had, therefore, no option but to replace in almost every territory the existing system by a system of government under which a Governor, with the advice of a nominated council, was responsible for all acts of Government to the authorities at home.

The Rebirth of Political Progress . . .

PERHAPS the most significant feature of the new rise of the West Indies in the political scale is that the population which is now being vested with increasing responsibility is not, as in the old days, a small group of white planters and overseers, but a population more than 80 per cent. of whom are the direct descendants of the original slaves.

These people, many of whom must be trained in political responsibility, are also desperately in need of better social and economic conditions. With grants from the funds made available under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act a strenuous attack is being made against malnutrition and disease.

The advisory body named the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission also provides a means for co-operation and consultation between the British and American territories over the whole field of social and economic conditions—a most hopeful sign for the future. It must, however, be remembered that improved social and economic conditions are an essential to full political maturity.

Meanwhile political progress is being made. Since the outbreak of war there have been a number of constitutional advances. The most significant, of course, is the new Constitution for Jamaica, but there have been several others which, though small in themselves, are far from unimportant. Thus, in Bermuda and Barbados women have been given the vote and in Barbados there has been a substantial reduction in the franchise qualifications.

In Trinidad and Tobago elected members now have parity in numbers in the Legislative Council with the official and nominated unofficial members combined and the introduction of universal adult suffrage was approved in 1944. In British Guiana the elected members of the Legislative Council now have a decisive majority over the official and the nominated unofficial members combined and a very substantial reduction in the franchise qualification was approved in 1940.

What was the prelude to these changes?

JAMAICA

Seventeenth-century Constitution based on the North American Model . . .

AT the time of its capture from Spain in 1655 the island of Jamaica, although it had been occupied by the Spanish for 150 years, had never really been settled by them. For a few years the British Government kept it under military control but by 1663 an elected House of Assembly was in being together with a Council of nominated members, which acted both as a Privy Council and (during sittings of the Assembly) as a Legislative Upper Chamber.

This constitution modelled on the constitutions introduced into the North American Colonies, served, with variations to suit local conditions, for the other West Indian colonies also, and an eighteenth-century historian of Jamaica has described the island's constitution in terms which, in the main, apply to the others : " It is composed of three estates, of which the Governor (as representing the King) is head. Having no order of nobility here the place of a house of peers is supplied by a council of twelve gentlemen appointed by the King ; which, in our system of legislature, forms the upper house. The lower house is composed (as in Britain) of representatives of the people, elected by the freeholders."

Discord between Crown and Legislature culminates in Crown Colony Rule . . .

THE phrase " as in Britain " was one of the rocks on which Jamaica's constitution foundered. The members of the first Assembly, Englishmen whose sympathies in England's Civil War were strongly on the side of the rights and privileges of parliamentary government, assumed that the Jamaica Assembly would have similar powers. One of their first steps, therefore, was to establish, and maintain for the next two hundred years, control over the raising and spending of all revenue. Difficulties inevitably arose between the Governor, responsible to the British Crown for the administration, and a legislature so securely in control of finance that no proposal for the expenditure of public money could be made except in the Assembly. So great was the discord created that the Assembly (whose full term of office was seven years) was dissolved no fewer than eight times between 1702 and 1711, while in 1785 it met and was dissolved three times in three months.

The emancipation of the slaves which followed the 1833 abolition of slavery called for drastic social and economic adjustments which the European population of Jamaica were reluctant to make. This reluctance made itself painfully felt in a refusal by the Assembly to transact any public business at all. Attempts to relieve the constitutional *impasse* were made on several occasions only to be rejected by the Assembly, ever jealous of its financial privileges. In 1865 a situation, politically hopeless, was inflamed by riots among the negro labouring

classes caused partly by opposition to the European planters and partly by the increased price of food. The riots were put down and martial law declared. The Governor wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies : " The real truth is that the people are not fit to elect legislators and there are few persons in the island fit to become legislators." Members of the Assembly, at length aware of the need for drastic constitutional reform, agreed to surrender their powers, and in 1866 the legislature was dissolved and a Legislative Council consisting entirely of officials and nominated members was set up in its place.

A Fresh Start is made . . .

THIS might have been the end of Jamaica's responsibility for its own government. It was, in fact, only the beginning. In 1883, at the request of the people, nine elected members had been added to the Legislative Council. In 1885 a Local Government Act established elected boards to deal with internal local affairs. In 1895 the constitution was amended to provide for a Legislative Council presided over by the Governor and composed of 5 official members, not more than 10 nominated members and 14 elected members, one for each of the parishes into which the island had been divided. The vote of 9 of the elected members could secure the rejection of any financial proposal and that of all 14 of any other proposed legislation. The Governor retained the right of overriding them in case of absolute necessity, a right which was very rarely used.

Since that date, although constitutional reforms have been discussed, no change was agreed upon until shortly before the outbreak of the present war. Meanwhile, the franchise qualifications were reduced in 1919 from the low level fixed in 1884 to an even lower level. Men paying 10s. a year in taxes on real property or 30s. a year on personal property, or having an income or salary of £50 a year were entitled to vote. Jamaican women (the first of the West Indian women to be admitted to the franchise) qualified for the vote on a similar income or salary minimum but a higher rate of taxes—namely £2 a year. The age qualification was 21 for men and 25 for women.

In May 1939 the Legislative Council appointed a committee of elected and unofficial nominated members to draft proposals for a reform in the existing constitution, thus giving effect to the principle laid down by the present Secretary of State for the Colonies that " the people themselves have been asked to suggest the constitutional machinery which they desire." The resulting proposals, which were submitted to Whitehall and led to an interchange of views between the Colonial Office and the recognised spokesmen of the colony, contained the opinions of the elected members of Jamaica's Legislative Council and of two influential organisations, the People's National Party (which has a member on the Legislative Council) and the Federation of Citizens' Associations.

Proposals for a New Constitution—an important Advance towards Internal Self-Government . . .

DISCUSSION of the Jamaica proposals and of counter-proposals based on the recommendations (made public in 1940) of the Royal Commission which visited the West Indies in 1938-9 continued until the early months of 1943. On February 23rd, through the Secretary of State, the British Government offered Jamaica a new constitution with a two-chamber legislature consisting of a House of Representatives of not fewer than 24 elected members and a Legislative Council with a strong unofficial majority consisting of 3 official and 12 unofficial members, each body to elect its own presiding officer. Members of the House of Representatives, to be elected by universal adult suffrage, represent constituencies decided on the basis of the recent census in order to ensure equal representation for all parts of the island.

The ancient Privy Council has been replaced by an Executive Council but a Privy Council is retained to advise the Governor on matters relating to the Royal Prerogative. The Executive Council consists of 10 members, presided over by the Governor. Five of them are elected by the House of Representatives from among its own members, and 5 (3 of whom are officials) are appointed by the Governor from the members of the Legislative Council. The Executive Council, which prepares the budget and initiates all money and other bills, is responsible for the administration of the government and is the principal instrument of policy.

Under the new constitution which was accepted by the Legislature on June 1st 1943 the Governor retains certain reserve powers :

1. The power of veto, that is to say, the power to refuse assent to a bill.
2. Authority to give the force of law to a Bill, resolution, motion or vote, which he considers necessary in the interest of good government but which is rejected by the Legislature or passed by them with amendments of which he is unable to approve.

As regards 1, the power of veto, the Secretary of State observed that : " Under every Colonial Constitution without exception, when a bill is presented to the Governor for his assent on behalf of His Majesty, the Governor has a discretion to assent, to withhold his assent, or to reserve the bill for His Majesty's pleasure. Any fetter expressly imposed by constitutional instrument upon this discretion would be without precedent in the Colonies. Indeed the legal position is the same in the self-governing Dominions, though in their case the practice is, of course, dependent upon principles of constitutional usage. I should see no objection to an understanding that, on the rare occasions upon which the Governor is not prepared to assent to a bill, he should in practice either reserve it for His Majesty's pleasure, or, before refusing assent consult the Executive Council, and, if they do not agree, the Secretary of State."

As regards 2, the Secretary of State stated that at this stage some power must be provided to meet the rare and unpredictable occasions when the public interest demands action which the Legislature might be unwilling to take ; and

it was decided that this reserve power should be exercised by the Governor in accordance with the advice of the Executive Council ; that its exercise should be considered only on the written request of the Governor ; that any decision to exercise should be reported immediately to the Secretary of State ; and that except in cases of urgency it should not be exercised without the Secretary of State's prior approval.

In order to provide an embryo ministerial system a number of Committees are being set up in the House of Representatives to deal with (a) General purposes, (b) Agriculture, (c) Education, (d) Social Welfare, and (e) Communications. It was first proposed that the Chairmen of these Committees should be elected as the representatives of the House on the Executive Council. On further consideration, it was found that this arrangement might give rise to difficulties in practice, and it has since been decided that the members of the House elected to the Executive Council while being named for assignment to a stated Department or Departments should be separate and distinct from the Chairmen of the above-mentioned Committees, and that the latter should form a General Committee for the control of the internal affairs and business of the House, the Chairman of this General Committee being regarded as the Leader of the House.

This constitution, introduced in November 1944, marks a very real step forward. It is to be given a five-year trial and the position will then be reviewed in the light of the experience gained and with a view to establishing a government which approximates even more closely to autonomy. Meanwhile, through their own votes and their elected members in the House of Representatives and on the Executive Council, all sections of the community are assuming a very considerable measure of responsibility for the wise government of their country.

BERMUDA

WITH the exception of the House of Commons the Bermuda Assembly is the oldest legislative body in the British Empire. Its constitution, like those of Barbados and the Bahamas, is a survival of the system which applied in the North American colonies before the Revolution, and which afterwards in Canada, and later in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, broadened out until it made complete independence within the Commonwealth a working possibility.

"Upon the first of August" (1620), wrote a contemporary historian of the Bermuda Assembly, "began the generall assembly at the towne of Saint George which was the first these Iles ever had ; consisting, as is said, of the Governor, Councill, Bailiffes, and Burgesses, and a Secretarie to whom all bills were presented and by him openly read in the house, also a clerke to record the acts, being 32 in all ; 15 of which being sent into England were by generall consent received and enacted."

Bermuda retained a single Council longer than any of the West Indian

Colonies and it was not until 1888 that Executive and Legislative Councils were set up. Four officials serve on the Executive Council—the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Colonial Treasurer and the Senior Military Officer. The Legislative Council consists of 3 official and 6 nominated unofficial members, and the House of Assembly of 36 elected members. The 1944 concessions which give women the vote on equal terms with men also render them eligible for election to the Assembly.

The Bermuda constitution amounts to something approaching full internal self-government although it is not responsible government in the constitutional sense. The final say in matters of legislation and finance—in Barbados and the Bahamas as well as in Bermuda—rests, however, for practical purposes with the Legislature.

BARBADOS

THE Barbados Assembly, which comes next in seniority to the Bermudan, was established in 1639. The legislature to-day consists of the House of Assembly with 24 elected members and the Legislative Council with 9 nominated members. The Governor has no power to authorise measures, which have not previously been approved by both houses of the Legislature but, as in all Colonies, his assent is required before a bill can become law.

Executive power rests with the Governor, who has the advice of a small Executive Council and in certain matters is assisted by an Executive Committee. The members of this Committee (one from the Legislative Council and 4 from the House of Assembly, together with the members of the Executive Council) form with the Governor a body for the transaction of financial and other public business. The Committee acts as a link between the different branches of the administration, for its members advise the Governor on measures to be brought by the Executive Council before the Legislature. It is also responsible for initiating money votes in the Assembly and preparing the Estimates.

The 1943 concessions, which gave women the vote on equal terms with men, also reduced the freehold property qualification for electors from a yearly value of £5 to £2 10s and the income qualification from £50 to £20 a year. This means that the majority of agricultural labourers will now be in a position to exercise a vote.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

WHEN Trinidad was ceded to Britain by Spain in 1797 the British Government decided that it would not be appropriate to introduce an elected Assembly on the model of the British settlements in North America and other West Indian dependencies. This decision was due chiefly to a desire to protect the interests of the coloured inhabitants by vesting sole authority in the Crown. Gradually, however, the government of the colony assumed a more representa-

tive form. In 1801 the Governor appointed 5 prominent residents as a Council of Advice. In 1831 this Council became the Executive Council and, for the first time, a nominated Legislative Council was established. The island of Tobago became part of the colony in 1889. There were no elected members on the Legislative Council until 1924 when provision was made for 12 official members, 6 nominated and 7 elected members. The latest amendment to the constitution (made in 1941) makes provision for 9 elected members and reduces the number of official members to 3—the Colonial Secretary, Attorney-General and Colonial Treasurer. The 1944 Report of the Franchise Committee which has been accepted by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, not only recommends the introduction of universal adult suffrage but renders women eligible for election to the Legislative Council and substantially reduces the income qualification which that membership entails.

BRITISH GUIANA

WHEN British Guiana was ceded to Britain by Holland in 1814 the old Dutch constitutional machinery was retained. It consisted of a Court of Policy, whose members, with the Governor, undertook the functions normally performed by an Executive Council and a Legislature; and a Combined Court, which with the Governor, members of the Court of Policy and certain financial members, was responsible for questions of finance and taxation. Apart from the remission of certain taxes resulting from the emancipation of the slaves, there were no changes until 1892 when the administrative functions of the Court of Policy were transferred to an Executive Council, the Court retaining its legislative powers. The year 1928 saw further changes, the outcome of the recommendations of a Parliamentary Commission which had investigated conditions with a view to ensuring a more rapid development of the colony and of promoting the well-being of the people. The recommendations led to the substitution of a Legislative Council for the Court of Policy and the Combined Court, the Legislative Council consisting of 10 official members, 5 nominated members and 14 elected members. The 1943 amendment to the constitution, by reducing the number of nominated and official members from 15 to 10, gave the elected members a majority of 4 over the official and nominated members combined.

In 1944 the Franchise Commission recommended a very substantial reduction in the qualifications necessary for membership of the Legislative Council and for the franchise, and its proposals have been approved by the Secretary of State. These changes will extend the vote to large sections of the manual labouring population.

The Need for Social and Economic Development . . .

IT will be seen, therefore, that all these changes are the logical development of constitutions all of which are directed to the same end—internal self-government.

The speed of the advance has been hampered in varying degrees by social and economic difficulties. The administrations are now staffed largely by West Indians themselves but education and social welfare in its broadest sense for large sections of the population still lag far behind the standard of the most advanced section. Educational advance and economic development have been called by the Secretary of State for the Colonies "the twin pillars upon which any sound scheme of political responsibility must be based." It is in their attainment that the future of the West Indies lies.

INDIRECT RULE IN NIGERIA

The Meaning of Indirect Rule . . .

WHAT is Indirect Rule, or Local Native Administration as it is sometimes called? It is the education of native peoples in the management of their own affairs. The Chiefs and their Councils, under the guidance of British officials, learn to rule according to enlightened standards of humanity and justice but within the framework of their own tribal or state organisations. As their capabilities are proved, so are they entrusted with a growing measure of responsibility for the welfare of their people. Just as these Chiefs and their Councils are trained to a greater measure of responsibility, so their tribal organisations, the ancient systems of government, are not preserved for their own sakes but as the ground from which more modern organs of administration must be encouraged to develop. Such a system ensures that the traditional Native Authority, even after the impact of European civilisation, is never divorced from the responsibilities of administering the people.

In Nigeria, where Indirect Rule was first introduced, the Protectorate is divided for administrative convenience into three areas each under a Chief Commissioner who is directly responsible to the Governor. These three areas are divided into a number of Provinces each under a British official known as a Resident and the Provinces in their turn are divided into Divisions each in charge of a District Officer with a staff of Assistant District Officers. This is the European framework of administration (perhaps "scaffolding" would be a better term) which is placed round the indigenous African forms of Government such as they were at the time of the British occupation. The work of these European officers, and there are not very many of them, is to maintain and develop the structure of native society and to create within it a self-reliant African civilisation.

How it was evolved . . .

THIS policy of Indirect Rule, and the ideal of African self-development which it was intended to foster, we owe to the genius of one of Britain's greatest Colonial Administrators, Colonel (later Lord) Lugard. When the slave trade on the West African coast was finally mastered during the eighteenth-seventies, the way to peace and progress was still barred; in the north of

Nigeria by the powerful Mohammedan emirates, where civil war and slave-raiding were rife and where a strong ruler only too often lived by war, plunder and oppression of his subjects ; and in the south-west by a group of states where internecine war was common and religious rites were practised which demanded human sacrifice. In the early years of the present century, Lugard subdued, or came to terms, with these rulers and set himself the task of teaching them to govern in reformed and constructive ways. To-day Nigeria covers a total of some 373,000 square miles, including the Cameroons, with a population of over 20 millions. Although in the first years Lugard was only responsible for the northern half of this gigantic territory, then called Northern Nigeria, it was obvious that he could not hope to control it with the very small number of British officers at his disposal by direct means, such as had proved practicable in British India. He turned, therefore, to an expedient which would utilise to the full the services of his British officers and would also give the African people, through their own rulers, the maximum opportunity for development.

Indirect Rule in Action . . .

THE initial step in the introduction of Indirect Rule is to identify the traditional authority who may be a Chief or a Council or the combination of both whom the people recognise and obey, and to give formal legal recognition of this as a " Native Authority " with specific administrative powers. In some districts this has been a simple matter but in others, where a preliminary system of direct government or successive waves of conquest or migration had submerged all trace of traditional leadership, direct rule has been necessary until traditional rule could be revived. " The allegiance of a people to a tribal head freely and spontaneously accorded without external cause," declared Sir Donald Cameron, who sponsored Indirect Rule in Nigeria and introduced and developed the system in Tanganyika, " is the very essence of true indirect administration. . . . If the people are not prepared to accept the orders of the so-called authority unless we compel them to do so, then of course the administration is not indirect and the Native Authority set up on such a basis is a sham and a snare."

The Importance of Native Treasuries . . .

JUST as the constitutions which Britain introduces into the dependencies vary according to the needs of the people, so does Indirect Rule vary in its application. The smallest and most backward unit may be little more than a group of villages. Here you will find an elected President and a council of village elders conducting their own court and trying simple cases according to their own customs. Under the direction of the District Officer these people learn that out of the money which they pay in taxation social and economic amenities are provided for the village or collection of villages which forms the unit. As soon as they are ready for it they are given a Native Treasury which is their responsibility and which they staff themselves. Court fees, market dues

and other local sources of revenue are paid direct into this Native Treasury together with a proportion of the money raised by the annual direct tax, the whole to be expended on maintaining their own social and other services and on schemes for development. As their capacity increases, so their share of this annual tax, which forms their principal source of income, is increased and with it the duties which they are expected to perform. In certain areas, such as the great Moslem emirates of the north and the Yoruba kingdoms of the west, you will find rulers of sometimes as many as 1,000,000 people, the District Officer's duties being confined to consultation and advice.

In every area, backward or advanced, the principle is the same—education towards self-rule, the practice being to allot to the Native Authorities rather more responsibility than they might at first be expected to take and to allow them to profit by their mistakes. The understanding that Native Authorities can direct the expenditure of their own money gives a tremendous impetus to plans for social and economic development, with the result that many Authorities to-day play a full and responsible part in the conduct of their own affairs, introducing schemes for sanitation, markets, road and bridge building, the opening of schools and hospitals, health measures, new crops, and a score of other duties.

Indirect Rule in Emirates of the Northern Provinces: Native Treasuries and Taxation . . .

It was in the north of Nigeria that Indirect Rule was first introduced. Here among 38 emirates lie the important states of Kano, with a population of nearly 2,000,000, Sokoto, with 1,500,000, Katsina, Zaria and Bornu, whose Emirs are the acknowledged leaders of their people. Before the experiment began there were already in existence the bases of administrative and taxation systems, Moslem courts of law, and the makings of a professional class in the "mallams"—men educated in Moslem law and scripture. The Native Treasuries then, as now, were the focal point of the organisation and handled revenue and expenditure. But they were run on very different lines. Forty years ago, with no organised accounting for expenditure, they served as little more than receiving houses for such revenue as managed to reach the Emirs' coffers. To-day the Emirs' salaries and the expenses of administration are met from Native Treasury funds, and the organisation is run on up-to-date and efficient lines. The proportion of the income raised by direct taxation handled by the Native Treasuries varies from 50 per cent. to 80 per cent. and is supplemented by court fees and fines. In 1911 the combined revenue resources of the Native Treasuries of the Northern Provinces was £197,296; by 1929 it had risen to £1,683,567. When the expenses of the administration have been met, every penny of this money is available for social and economic services.

In the case of the Emirs and their Councils the degree of their financial control is considerable, and even in the most backward districts where the District Officer still has to shoulder the lion's share of responsibility, the people

are learning to control their finances. The District Officer may, for example, assess the amount of direct tax payable per head of the population of a village unit as 7s. for each able-bodied man, but since the incidence of the tax at this level might lead to certain inequalities he leaves the actual computation to the village elders. They may decide that one man, having done well with his crops and his livestock, can afford to pay 9s. instead of 7s., while another, who has had a poor season, cannot afford more than 5s. Each man's income is, therefore, assessed separately but the final computation will tally with the total sum to be collected from the unit. The agreed assessment is approved, first by the village headman, then by the district head and it is finally submitted to the Emir. In this way the administrative chain which links the village to the Emir is kept intact.

The Powers of the Native Courts . . .

ASSOCIATED with the Native Authorities are the Native Courts, in which the laws enforced conform to native law and customs in so far as they do not conflict with British ideas of justice and humanity. The majority of these Courts deal with petty civil and criminal work but some of the more important Native Authorities have Courts of the highest grade, with jurisdiction in capital cases, as the following account of the trial of a homicide case written by the Sultan (or Emir) of Sokoto will show :

"The charge is read over to accused who makes his plea and thereafter the witnesses make their statements and answer the questions of the Court. The whole proceedings are recorded verbatim by the Court Scribe. When the accused and his witnesses have made their statements all retire to let the Court consider its verdict. The Chief Judge, who is the Court's expert adviser on Mohammedan Law, is asked to state into what class of homicide this killing falls and what is the punishment that must be inflicted. He replies that there is no evidence of intent to kill, that the killing in this case is manslaughter and that the limit of punishment laid down by Koranic Law is the payment of compensation to the relatives of the dead man and imprisonment for one year. The Court accepts this opinion, the accused and witnesses are recalled and I pronounce judgment."

Action affecting the Whole Area . . .

THE Sultan of Sokoto and his fellow Emirs have their own Ministers appointed either by them or by their predecessors. The Emirs also appoint the district and village heads who are responsible to them. The states function as separate units but their rulers come together on occasion to discuss matters of common concern. The Annual Conference of Chiefs (so called because in addition to the Emirs one or more Pagan Chiefs attend) has held regular meetings for a number of years. After a discussion of problems affecting their territories as a whole the members disperse to take individual action on the decisions reached. It is significant that whereas in 1930 a number of British

officials attended the Conference to help and advise the members, to-day only one British official (the Secretary) is present and even he has an African "understudy" who will take over the secretarial work as soon as he is qualified to do so.

Relations with the Central Government . . .

THERE is at present no representative of the Northern Provinces on the Legislative Council of Nigeria, although in the early days of the war a useful link was forged. An unofficial inner cabinet of 5 or 6 Emirs was set up to be convened prior to every meeting of the Council. Here the Emirs can discuss proposed legislation affecting their territories with the Chief Commissioner for the Northern Provinces, who embodies in his own speech to the Legislature any amendments they may suggest.

A determined attempt to interest the Emirs in direct representation on the Central Government was made by Sir Bernard Bourdillon as Governor of Nigeria in 1943. He visited them separately and explained the extensive nature of the powers over the finances of Nigeria as a whole (as opposed to expenditure from Native Treasury funds) that are exercised by the Finance Committee of the Legislative Council, which has a strong African majority. The realisation that African members from the south could control the spending of money on behalf of the north was new to the Emirs, who are now discussing the question in greater detail with British officials.

Indirect Rule in the Western Provinces : Differences in Application . . .

IN the north, where the population is predominantly Moslem, the respect for authority which the Moslem faith engenders is an asset in the creation of a smooth-running administrative machine. In the pagan states of the Yoruba, Jukun and others of the Western Provinces the people are by nature far more independent and spirited. Here the rulers and their Councils have acquired a very considerable measure of authority, although their powers do not yet approximate to those of the Emirs. The Oba (or ruler) has below him chiefs and village heads but, unlike an Emir, he does not necessarily appoint all these subordinates himself, many of them being the heads of important clans or the holders of various traditional offices. "Given a wise ruler and a good council," said Sir Bernard Bourdillon recently, "the Western Provinces Native Authority is capable of functioning admirably, with very little guidance, as has been amply proved during the man-power shortage of the war, but from the point of view of mechanical perfection it does not come up to the Northern Provinces machine." An annual conference of Chiefs of the Western Provinces has been held regularly since 1937 and is attended by the principal rulers. It is less advanced than the Northern Provinces Conference in that each ruler is still accompanied by the Resident of his territory.

Indirect Rule in the Colony Area : Initial Difficulties overcome . . .

WE come now to two areas each of which has presented peculiar and distinct difficulties in the introduction of Indirect Rule. The first is the Colony area (as distinct from the vast and densely populated area of the Protectorate), a small coastal strip running east and west from Lagos with a population of some 200,000. Indirect Rule in the Colony is a very recent innovation. In 1935 Sir Bernard Bourdillon toured the area and found the people backward and apathetic. Under direct rule there were, of course, no Native Authorities, and there was no tribal authority beyond a number of petty chiefs with unspecified powers to whom the people neither owed nor paid allegiance. As a preliminary to the setting up of Native Authorities the people were consulted and they met together to discuss the appointment of leaders whom they would respect and obey. In a number of areas after discussions which lasted for more than a year unanimity was reached and Native Authorities established. In others, where no agreement was arrived at, it was necessary to try the temporary expedient of appointing a Native Authority consisting of a native council with a District Officer at its head. That the expedient *was* only temporary is proved by the fact that within two years the District Officers had been withdrawn to be replaced by properly constituted Native Authorities.

The results are proving highly satisfactory. No longer apathetic, the people are beginning to take a lively interest in the welfare of their districts and the power to spend their own money is turning that interest into constructive channels. The people of one district, once a centre of the slave trade, had asked in 1935 for a Government-built motor road into the interior and the Governor had suggested that as a first step they might construct an embankment across two miles of swampland. Within two years of the establishment of their Native Authority these people sent the Governor a message to the effect that they had completed a mile of the embankment and would be glad of help in order to finish the work.

Indirect Rule in the Eastern Provinces : the Family as Sole Traditional Unit . . .

THE second of the two areas which have presented special difficulties is the Eastern Provinces, where Indirect Rule was introduced in 1928. In this region, which has a population of some 5,000,000 and approximately one administrative officer to every 70,000 or 80,000 people, there was no system of direct taxation which would provide Native Authorities with funds to pay their staff and finance their undertakings. The first problem to be faced, therefore, was not merely to introduce, and supervise the collection of, a small tax but to persuade the people that their own representatives would have the power to expend a proportion of the proceeds. The second problem was to find

any indigenous authority in an area where there seemed to be no social structure at all—only an intense individualism. It was therefore necessary—to quote Mr. G. G. Shute, one-time Chief Commissioner of the Eastern Provinces, “to discover the groupings of the people, what common authority they would recognise and obey, and above all in what way the people could be most fully and thoroughly represented on that authority.” A way was ultimately found which did much towards providing a solution to the problem. Exhaustive inquiries had revealed the fact that the family (which might number anything up to 200 people) was the sole traditional unit and that no working organisation could be set up without adequate representation of every family. After consultation with the people the expedient was adopted of uniting the families into some 300 small groups, each family being represented on the group council. The strength of this system was that it gave an opportunity for self-expression to men of character and ability, and the realisation of the value of money in the provision of social and economic services gave such stimulus to the task of tax collecting that some of the people have already suggested that they would willingly pay a higher rate. The weakness of the scheme lay in the fact that the councils were too large for the units they served and that the elder members were often illiterate and reactionary.

This problem is being solved by the voluntary federation of neighbouring units with complete control over their own finances and by the establishment of local committees. These committees, which consist of the younger and more advanced men of the community, are selected by the members of the councils to whom they are responsible. The councils still meet, but only at intervals, to listen to the recommendations of the local committees, which meet regularly, either weekly, fortnightly or monthly. The Secretary of State for the Colonies recently referred to the harmonious collaboration of these bodies as pointing “the way of evolution from the more traditional methods of the past to the more democratic methods of the future.”

The Principles of Indirect Rule applied in other parts of the Colonial Empire . . .

THIS survey of Indirect Rule shows some of the variations in application which exist in a single dependency. The ideal which it represents is not a new one, for Stamford Raffles had evolved a similar policy for the Far East as far back as the closing years of the eighteenth century, and Arthur Gordon had introduced a similar system in the Fiji Islands in the 1890's. But Indirect Rule as we know it to-day was born in Nigeria. It functions now in the majority of the British African dependencies, not on a uniform pattern, but adapted to suit the needs of the people of each territory. If progress is slow at the outset it is because the people have to be taught how to be governed before they can begin to learn how to govern themselves. Moreover, Native Authorities if they are to work effectively must be representative not simply of a small section of the community but of the whole community. Indirect Rule is indeed a good example of government by the people for the people.

BRITISH TROPICAL AFRICA

THE DEPENDENCIES OF THE EAST AND WEST

Some Problems which have hindered Progress . . .

By far the largest land area of the British Colonial Empire is occupied by the dependencies of East and West Africa which also possess the greatest mass of population. On the east of the continent lie Kenya, Uganda, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Zanzibar, British Somaliland and the mandated territory of Tanganyika occupying an area of over a million square miles and supporting a population of some 16 millions. On the west lie the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria and the mandated territories of Togoland and the Cameroons with a much smaller area—less than 500,000 square miles—but supporting a population of 26 millions.

The peoples of Africa have different racial origins and histories and they present a bewildering complexity of language, religion and custom. It has been reckoned that there are in Africa no fewer than 700 spoken languages, between 200 and 300 of which have been reduced to writing since the coming of the white man. Within the four British West African dependencies alone there are 40 distinct tribal groups speaking as many different languages, together with innumerable smaller tribes each with its own dialect.

The wide differences existing even in a single territory have meant that no one form of government which would be both workable and acceptable to the people could be devised. Indirect Rule, which has been introduced into all the African territories, follows many patterns but has only one aim—to educate Africans to play an ever-increasing part in the management of their own affairs. Africans are also beginning to take a share in the government of their country as a whole.

EAST AFRICA

BRITISH interest was first drawn to East Africa by the horrors of the Arab slave-trade, and during the years between 1856 and 1873 British explorers and missionaries, among them David Livingstone, were penetrating the interior bent not only on exploration but on unmasking and breaking the traffic in slaves.

ZANZIBAR

THE chief ruler of East Africa at this time was the Sultan of the island of Zanzibar. The British Government, having no desire to take over the government of the regions under his control, sought rather to strengthen his regime and to influence him against slavery so that he might be in a position himself to introduce the necessary reforms. Gradually and with infinite pains this was accomplished and by 1881 legitimate trade had begun to supersede the slave trade, and the Sultan of the day, backed by British authority, was in a stronger position than ever before.

Within a few years, however, the Sultanate, which was changing from a mere overlordship into a state, was overthrown. German agents travelling on the mainland of East Africa had induced unsuspecting chiefs to sign away their lands to an organisation known as the German Colonisation Society. When the Sultan demanded British support against this act of piracy it was refused and, powerless without British protection, he was obliged to relinquish the bulk of his mainland possessions. Germany was only prevented from seizing them all by the formation of the British East Africa Company, whose energy was largely responsible for the maintenance of British influence in Uganda and what is now Kenya Colony.

In 1890 Zanzibar together with the neighbouring island of Pemba was brought under British protection and in the following year a regular Government was constituted with a British representative as First Minister. Executive and Legislative Councils were set up in 1926, the Government being administered by a British Resident. With the Sultan as President and the Resident as Vice-President, the Executive Council consists of 4 *ex-officio* members and 2 official members appointed by the Sultan with the advice of the British Resident. There are 8 official members of the Legislative Council, which is presided over by the Resident, and 6 unofficial members appointed by the Sultan.

In 1929 the British Government formally recognised the son of the reigning Sultan as his heir, and in order to give the Sultan-Designate experience in the conduct of public affairs he was given in 1943 a seat on the Executive Council.

UGANDA

UGANDA, with a record of half a century of peaceful progress under British protection, is at an interesting stage of development. By 1893 it had become clear that the strain of maintaining order was too heavy to be borne by the East Africa Company and that only by direct participation in the government could the problems caused by a succession of weak or vicious native rulers and augmented by Germany's seizure of the major portion of the East African territories be solved.

Relationship between Buganda and the Crown . . .

Two great British administrators, first Lord Lugard and later Sir Harry Johnston, helped to establish abiding peace and paved the way for internal progress. The new Protectorate had in the province of Buganda a highly developed monarchy of its own with a Kabaka (or king) at its head. In 1900 an Agreement was concluded confirming that the Kabaka should exercise direct rule over the natives of Buganda, "to whom he shall administer justice through the Lukiko, or Native Council, and through others of his officers in the manner approved by Her Majesty's Government."

The Kabaka has power, subject to the Governor's approval, to appoint his subordinate chiefs and to make laws concerning the welfare of his subjects, who form more than one quarter of the total African population of the Protectorate.

A reorganization of the administration of Buganda was announced in October 1944, by which the Kabaka and his Government assume an increased measure of responsibility for the administration of Buganda.

The other provinces of Uganda—the Eastern and Western—are administered under Indirect Rule, and in the case of the native rulers agreements of a less comprehensive nature than the Buganda Agreement have been entered into.

In 1907 the first British Governor was appointed and in 1921 Executive and Legislative Councils were established, the latter consisting partly of official members and partly of nominated unofficial members with an official majority.

There is as yet no African member of the Legislative Council, which is the body responsible for legislation affecting the Protectorate as a whole, although African interests are represented by the official element, which includes the Directors of Medical Services, Agriculture and Education. The Secretary of State declared in June 1944 that he hoped that Africans would be represented on the Uganda Legislative Council when the time was appropriate but added that he did not wish this representation to be introduced at the expense of the natural development of existing native assemblies.

Although Buganda might well be expected to provide the first representative, the members of the Lukiko appear to be content so far both with the dignity of their office and with the special relationship which exists between Buganda and the British Government.

KENYA

MEANWHILE, Kenya is the first of the East African dependencies to have an African representative in the Central Government, for the Governor announced in June 1944 that an African member was to be nominated to serve on the Legislative Council.

Kenya, then known as British East Africa, came under British protection in 1895 when the East Africa Company surrendered its charter to the Crown. In 1919 the territory was annexed and became Kenya Colony, a coastal strip ten miles deep remaining as a protectorate.

In the early days of the present century settlers from Britain and South Africa began to make homes for themselves in Kenya and after the last war, with Government encouragement, they were joined by others. The settlers (some 20,000 of them) looked to the Home authorities to defend and further their interests. The British Government was determined that the interests of an African population of 3½ millions should "not be subordinated to another race, however important in itself." The situation was complicated by the presence of an Indian population of 40,000. Some of them were traders but most of them were labourers who had been employed in the building of the Kenya-Uganda Railway, which had dealt a final blow to slavery and had also

opened up East Africa to trade. The Indians resented any subordination to the Europeans.

In 1919 Executive and Legislative Councils were set up with the elected members of the latter in the minority. Two Europeans were nominated to safeguard the interests of the African population, who were also represented by a strong official element.

Some Recent Political Developments . . .

LOCAL Native Councils were established in 1924 in the Native Reserves and have increased greatly both in numbers and in importance. In 1943 a Native Authority (Amendment) Bill introduced into the Legislature authorised European Provincial Commissioners to appoint Africans as deputy Vice-Presidents of Local Native Councils. In the absence of the President (the District Officer) an African can now preside at Council meetings, and in many districts it is now becoming customary for the President and other European officials to leave a meeting in charge of the Vice-President, returning at the conclusion to learn the result of the Council's deliberations.

The year 1943 saw another advance in the appointment of a Standing Advisory Committee for Local Native Councils with an African majority. This Committee advises the Governor on such important matters as the drafting of budgets for the Councils. In his speech to the Legislative Council on its adjournment in June 1944, the Governor spoke with appreciation of the ability shown by the African members of the Advisory Committee, adding that the part played by some of the African members of the more advanced of the Local Native Councils had further demonstrated their capability of taking a fuller share in the work of the Government.

It is, therefore, a logical but significant step forward that an African has succeeded one of the two European nominated members who represent African interests on the Legislative Council and that he has been selected by the Governor from a list of names submitted by the Native Councils. With the Governor as President, the Council now consists of 11 *ex-officio* members, 9 nominated official members, 11 European elected members, 5 Indian elected members, one Arab elected member, 2 nominated unofficial members (one of them African) to represent the interests of the African community, and one nominated unofficial member to represent the interests of the Arab community. "The new African member will find his task a formidable one," wrote the *East African Standard* on the occasion of the Governor's announcement, "but he will not want for sympathetic guidance either from his fellow European nominated member, whoever may be selected for the task, or from the other members of the Council. The Africans in Kenya may take heart from the knowledge that the association with them of other races in the development of this part of Africa has not only *not* resulted in political repression, but that the Colony is leading the way in finding an appropriate place for them in its Councils."

NYASALAND

THE explorations of Livingstone and the labours of British missionaries first brought the district which lies to the west of Lake Nyasa under British influence. The setting up of missions was followed by the formation of the African Lakes Corporation, and in 1883 the first British consul for the territories north of the Zambesi was appointed.

Trouble with the Arab slavers and with certain native chiefs who also carried on the slave trade led in the 1890's to the establishment of a Protectorate. To-day administration is in the hands of the Governor assisted by an Executive Council of official members with the addition of 2 European unofficial members, and a Legislative Council of 5 official and 5 unofficial members.

Growth of Political Responsibility . . .

A most important link between the Central Government and the people was formed in July 1944 with the announcement that an African Provincial Council is to be set up in each of the two Provinces into which Nyasaland is divided for administrative purposes. Under the presidencies of the British Provincial Commissioners for the Southern and Northern Provinces, these Councils, which will be advisory, will be composed of chiefs and other responsible African members. Consultation between the Government and the people through their recognised leaders will thereby be facilitated, and the development of political responsibility among Africans will be advanced. As soon as the Provincial Councils have made sufficient progress and gained enough experience an African Council for the Protectorate as a whole will be established.

NORTHERN RHODESIA

UNTIL 1911 Northern Rhodesia was administered jointly with Southern Rhodesia under the direction of the British South Africa Company. In 1923, when Southern Rhodesia received local responsible government, Northern Rhodesia remained under the administration of a Governor and an Executive Council since its governmental problems approximated to conditions prevailing in the dependencies of East Africa. Until 1944 the Legislative Council, with the Governor as President, consisted of 5 *ex-officio* members, 4 nominated official members, and 8 members elected by the Europeans on a franchise limited on a property basis, together with one nominated official member representing the interests of the African community. Provision regarding the native population was in the hands of the Governor.

On October 18th, 1944, the Secretary of State announced an increase in the unofficial element. With the Governor as President, the Legislative Council will in future consist of 9 official members, 8 elected unofficial members

and 5 nominated unofficial members. "It is intended," said the Secretary of State, "that African interests should be represented by Africans as soon as a suitable basis of representation can be built up. Provincial African Councils have recently been established in the territory, and when these have had sufficient experience, an African Central Council will be set up consisting of delegates from the Provincial Councils." It is intended that from this Central Council African members will be drawn to serve on the Legislative Council to represent the interests of their own people. Although African interests are still represented by Europeans, it will be open to the Governor to replace them by Africans if vacancies occur during the interim period before Africans can be appointed from the Central Council.

TANGANYIKA TERRITORY

TANGANYIKA TERRITORY, formerly German East Africa, was mandated to Britain after the war of 1914-18. It is administered by a Governor assisted by an Executive Council and a Legislative Council, in both of which the official element predominates.

Indirect Rule (see previous chapter) was introduced into Tanganyika by Sir Donald Cameron during his term of office as Governor from 1925 to 1931. Under this system considerable progress is being made in the education of the people towards responsibility for the conduct of their own affairs. A recent development is the enactment of an Ordinance empowering the Native Authorities to levy at their own discretion a small local tax in addition to the direct tax which they are already responsible for collecting. As a result the Native Authority of one district (the Pare district of Tanga Province) introduced a system of graduated taxation in 1943. With supervision and advice from the District Commissioner, the Native Authority now assesses the tax to be paid by each man in the district, and in cases where payment might be considered a hardship it is empowered to remit the tax altogether.

A Central African Council . . .

IN October 1944 the Secretary of State announced the establishment of a standing Central African Council, covering Northern and Southern Rhodesia* and Nyasaland. This Council, which will be on a permanent basis, will be consultative, its general function being to promote the closest contact and co-operation between the three Governments and their administrative and technical services. It is contemplated that the Council will deal with communications, economic relations, industrial development, research, labour, education, agriculture, and veterinary and medical matters; also currency and such other matters as might be agreed between the three Governments.

* The territory of Southern Rhodesia is not, of course, part of the Colonial Empire.

WEST AFRICA

A MORE rapid spread of education in the West African dependencies has helped the people to arrive at a far higher degree of political responsibility than has yet been achieved in the dependencies of East Africa.

Each of the West African territories consists of a coastal portion formally annexed as a Colony and an area inland under British protection. There are, of course, certain legal and political distinctions in the administration of colony and protectorate but the tendency is for both areas to be administered on the same lines on major questions of government.

English traders had visited the West African coast from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards but it was not until 1783 that British occupation of a number of isolated points became continuous. In the early years Englishmen as well as African rulers and members of other nations helped to carry on the slave trade. In 1807, however, the Act was passed which forbade British subjects to engage in it. The Royal Navy soon put an end to slaving under the British flag but it was not until about 1870 that the transport of slaves overseas really ceased.

SIERRA LEONE

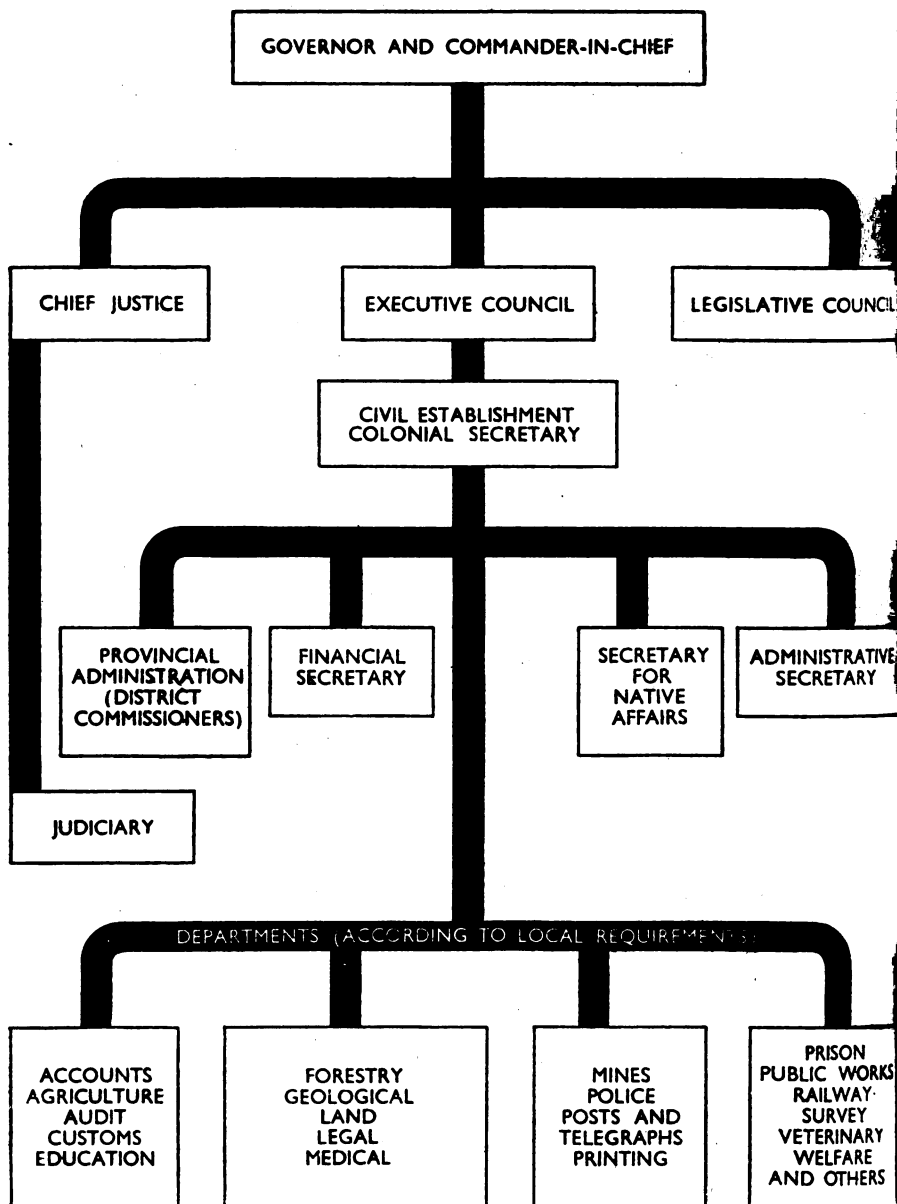
ORIGINALLY founded as a settlement for freed slaves in the closing years of the eighteenth century, Sierra Leone was ceded by its native ruler to the newly formed Sierra Leone Company. For the first few years the settlement suffered from disease and famine and in 1807-8 the Company transferred its responsibility to the Crown. Slaving, which was still being carried on in the interior, led to British intervention and to the cession of additional land to the Crown. The possibilities of opening up the interior to trade caused an extension of British influence and in 1896, the demarcation of the northern boundary between the British and French spheres of influence having been ratified, the hinterland of Sierra Leone was declared a British protectorate.

The government of both Colony and Protectorate is administered by the Governor assisted by an Executive and a Legislative Council. In 1924 an elective element was introduced into the Legislative Council together with direct representation of Protectorate interests, and the Council, with the Governor as President, now consists of 11 official members and 10 unofficial members, 3 of the unofficial members being elected and 6 of them Africans.

African Members of the Executive Council . . .

IN 1943 two African unofficial members, one of them a Paramount Chief, were appointed to the Executive Council, thus bringing the Council into line with those of the Gold Coast and Nigeria to which African members had been appointed the previous year.

TYPICAL COLONIAL ESTABLISHMENT



The reconstitution of the Freetown City Council has recently been approved in order to provide for an elected majority and substantial enlargement of the Council's functions and responsibilities.

In practically all the Government Departments Africans now hold responsible posts, and it is the declared policy of the Government to increase steadily the number of such officers. With this object in view generous provision is now made by Government scholarships for the higher education and professional training of local candidates.

The Protectorate is administered according to the principles of Indirect Rule. The Nigerian model is not closely followed because, owing to the gigantic difficulties of communication in thickly wooded country, African society in Sierra Leone is organised in small chiefdoms which have grown up independently of each other. Little had been done about setting up local Treasuries until 1936, when a start was made in certain of the larger and more advanced chiefdoms in the eastern part of the Protectorate. As a basis, the various contributions in kind and in labour which had traditionally been made by the people to their Paramount Chiefs and to their village headmen were commuted for a fixed sum per house. This generally was set at the rate of 4s., and it is collected annually. From the sums so raised salaries of the officials of the administrations, which average about 40 per cent. of the total income, are paid, the remainder of the money being available for development schemes, such as schools, court buildings, roads, dispensaries, etc. The chiefdom organisation in the Protectorate resembles that of southern Nigeria, both in the size and political character of the units, rather than that of the emirates of northern Nigeria. It is hoped that amalgamation of small units with consequent reduction of overhead charges will take place, but the Africans are naturally conservative in these matters and local interests are not easily reconciled. At the present moment approximately half the inhabitants of the Protectorate are living under the ægis of Native Treasuries, which are functioning satisfactorily.

THE GAMBIA

BRITISH trading stations were first established in the Gambia during the seventeenth century and after a difficult beginning and many setbacks the area enjoyed twenty years of comparative prosperity under the direction of the Royal Africa Company. In course of time the Company became involved in financial troubles and in 1765 responsibility was vested in the Crown. Until 1886, with one brief interval, the Gambia was administered jointly first with the Crown Colony of Senegambia and later with Sierra Leone. In 1889, by agreement with the French, the boundaries of the colony were set. By 1902, with the exception of the island of St. Mary on which Bathurst, the capital of the Colony, is situated, the whole of the area had been brought under the Protectorate system.

Government is administered by the Governor assisted by an Executive

Council composed of officials, and a Legislative Council which includes four unofficial nominated members, three of them Africans.

Recent Developments . . .

ALTHOUGH there are as yet no African members of the Executive Council considerable political progress has been made in the Gambia during the past few years. An elective element is to be introduced into the Legislative Council, for there will in future be an elected member, who may be European or African, to represent the one urban constituency of the territory. Of the 3 members to be nominated to the Council, 2 must be Africans, one of them representing the Protectorate as distinct from the Colony.

In March 1944 the first joint conference of chiefs representing the dependency as a whole was held. The chiefs who were present at the conference were invited to submit to the Governor a list of suitable candidates for nomination to the Legislative Council.

On this occasion the Governor announced the appointment of a special Commissioner to act as a link between the Central Government, the four British Provincial Commissioners who administer the four Provinces into which the Protectorate is divided, and the Native Authorities. One of the new Commissioner's first duties will be to conduct an investigation with the object of setting up Native Treasuries in the dependency, for the Native Authorities of the Gambia have not yet reached the degree of financial authority enjoyed by the Native Authorities of the other West African territories, who are, as we have seen, empowered to spend a proportion of the money which they collect in taxation and in some cases to levy taxes themselves. Recent legislation, however, has authorised the imposition of local taxes by the Native Authorities and the expenditure of the proceeds by the Authorities within their respective areas.

The year 1944 also saw an advance in local government. Bathurst has had a Town Council since 1931 which advises the Government on matters concerning the welfare of its people. The Secretary of State for the Colonies has now approved proposals prepared by the Governor in consultation with the Council for the creation of a temporary local self-governing body in Bathurst which will undertake certain duties and functions on behalf of the town at present carried out by the Central Government. The Ordinance, if not extended for a further year, will remain in operation until the end of 1945 and during this period such questions as the basis of the municipal franchise will be considered.

In the Administrative Service an intermediate grade known as "Administrative Assistant" has been opened to Africans. Successful candidates will be given a two-year training in the different branches of Government service, in some cases in other parts of West Africa and in others in the United Kingdom.

On the legal side, among other appointments, two African women have been made Justices of the Peace, and a Barrister-at-Law has been appointed to the post of Colonial Magistrate. The Government is taking steps to provide special

training and education to prepare an increasing number of Africans for responsible posts in the various Departments.

THE GOLD COAST

ALLUVIAL gold, small quantities of which were brought by the natives of the interior to be exchanged for goods provided by the tribes of the coast, first attracted Europeans to the Gold Coast. The Portuguese (who were ousted by the Dutch) and the British all founded trading stations which by the eighteenth century were dealing in slaves rather than in gold. The abolition of British slaving was followed by a reduction in the number of British trading stations and those which remained were used after 1820 as bases from which the Royal Navy could operate against the slave trade. The British Government was reluctant to take over the administration of the area and had it not been for a handful of traders who refused to leave even when ordered to do so, the Gold Coast might have been abandoned altogether. By the time internal disorders and foreign penetration had persuaded Britain to act, French and German annexations had limited her sphere of influence to an area of 90,000 square miles. Part of this, the coastal strip with Accra as its capital, is to-day administered as a Crown Colony, while the regions of Ashanti and the Northern Territories, under the administration of Chief Commissioners responsible to the Governor of the Colony, are protectorates. The former German protectorate of Togoland was placed under British mandate in 1922.

Native Administration and its Links with the Central Government . . .

THE prevailing system of government has been described as a mixture of direct and indirect rule with a bias towards the latter. Native administration is largely in the hands of Chiefs, who are assisted by councils of elders representing various sections of the community. Tribunals, with certain powers of jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters, are formed by each Chief and his Councillors, but appeal can be made to higher Courts.

In the Gold Coast Colony a direct link with the Central Government is formed by Provincial Councils composed of the Head Chiefs. These Councils, to whom all important Bills introduced into the Legislative Council are referred for comment, also elect Chiefs to serve on the Legislative Council which, constituted in 1925, consisted of the Governor as President, 15 official members and 14 unofficial members.

In 1942 the Executive Council, which until then had consisted only of European officials, was strengthened by the appointment of two African members both of whom had had long and distinguished careers as members of the Legislative Council. One of them, Sir Ofori Atta, K.B.E., who had also been President of one of the Provincial Councils and a member of the Gold Coast Board of Education, has since died and his place on the Executive Council has been filled by another African.

Recommendations for constitutional reform in the Gold Coast announced by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the House of Commons on October 5th, 1944, provide for a substantial unofficial majority on the Legislative Council. Hitherto the Council, with the Governor as President, has consisted of 15 official members and 14 unofficial members, 10 of whom were elected. Now, however, there are to be no fewer than 18 elected members together with 6 nominated unofficial members, while the official members have been reduced to 6.

The Administrative Service is open to Africans . . .

1942 saw the opening of the higher grades of the Administrative Service to Africans and the provision of a number of scholarships to provide additional training for suitable candidates. The opening was immediately followed by the appointment of two Africans as Assistant District Commissioners, posts which call for the highest qualities of character and ability. On the legal side, too, an increasing number of appointments are going to Africans. In 1943 alone an African was made puisne judge of the Supreme Court (the highest Court in the Gold Coast to which appeals from the local tribunals can be made) ; three Africans were made District Magistrates ; and one a Crown Counsel.

Local Government Reforms . . .

LOCAL government is being reorganised on the lines of a recommendation made by the Governor. Until 1943 the Gold Coast had three town councils, at Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi, but a fourth, at Kumasi in Ashanti, has now been set up. The new Council has 13 members of whom 8 are Africans and, subject to the general control of the Governor, it has a free hand in the administration of the township. The *African Morning Post*, commenting on the establishment of these councils, writes : " One by one the big towns are receiving a franchise which entitles them to the management of their own civic affairs. Step by step we see the country advancing towards the goal of ultimate self-government. This is concrete proof that the British are honourable in their dealings with Africans, and that they are preparing the people to shoulder their own responsibilities in the near future."

NIGERIA

NIGERIA, much the largest British West African holding, had a late nineteenth-century origin, for it was not until 1879 that British commercial undertakings were consolidated into a Company which established stations in the interior. By this time the French were staking claims in a south-easterly direction from Timbuktu and the ultimate line on which the Anglo-French border would rest thus depended on a Company which frequently found itself in

conflict with the warlike Moslem rulers of Northern Nigeria. In 1900, therefore, the Company's charter was withdrawn and its sphere of operations reorganised as the two Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria. In 1906 the Colony of Lagos was combined with the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, and in 1914 the Northern and Southern Protectorates were amalgamated, the whole being designated the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, with Lagos as the seat of Government. In 1923 part of the ex-German dependency of the Cameroons was placed under British mandate.

The Legislative Council for Nigeria*, which was substituted for older legislative bodies in 1922, consists of the Governor as President, 30 official members and 19 unofficial members including 3 elected African members to represent the municipal area of Lagos and one to represent the municipal area of Calabar. Ten of the 19 unofficial members are Africans, and on the Finance Committee of the Legislative Council, which has definite powers in questions of finance affecting Nigeria as a whole, there is a strong African majority.

In 1942 two Africans and one European were appointed to serve on the Executive Council which, like the Executive Councils of the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, had previously been confined to European official members.†

The Government of the Future . . .

THE changes which have taken place in the African territories during the war years show steady progress towards the Africanisation of the Government. As more and more Africans become capable of assuming political responsibility, so will positions be found for them from which they can influence the affairs of their people. Indirect Rule is essentially a training ground in local government from which the Africanisation of the Central Government can be made possible. Just as in Britain and the United States, in very different circumstances, parliamentary institutions drew their strength and resilience from local self-government in municipalities and counties, so in the councils and courts of thousands of native administrations Africa's future administrators are learning their job.

FIJI

IN May 1943 the Secretary of State for the Colonies approved the appointment of a Fijian, Major Ratu (Chief) J. L. V. Sukuna, C.B.E., as Adviser on Native Affairs, an office which has since been renamed Secretary for Fijian Affairs. This responsible post, which carries with it membership of the Executive Council of the Colony, was previously held by a European, and Major (now Colonel) Sukuna is not only the first Fijian to hold it but also the first Pacific Island native to have reached the rank of Senior District Commissioner.

* An Appendix outlining recent proposals for a revision of the constitution appears on page 46.

† For the working of Indirect Rule in Nigeria see previous chapter.

The link between the Central Government of the Fiji Islands and the native administration is very close, and the effectiveness with which it works is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that Fiji became part of the British Empire as recently as 1874. A hundred years ago the islands which, in the words of Sir Harry Luke, lately Governor, were the "cannibal isles *par excellence*," were in such a state of confusion and economic distress that the people, through their ruler, begged for British annexation. The British Government refused, and it was only at the second time of asking that Fiji became a Crown Colony.

Since then internal strife has ceased and considerable social progress has been made particularly in education (96 per cent. of the population are literate) and in health measures which are now being promoted largely by Fijian trained doctors and nurses.

Local Government which resembles Indirect Rule . . .

UNDER a system of local government which preceded and to some extent resembles the Indirect Rule of the African dependencies and is designed to conform as closely as possible to ancient laws and customs, the Fijian people exercise a considerable measure of control over their own affairs. For administrative purposes the colony is divided into five districts, each with its own District Commissioner and one or more District Officers whose work, as in Africa, is to advise and guide the people but not to rule them.

Every village has its own headman who, after consultation with the village elders, speaks for his people. The villages are grouped into districts, each group under the control of a Chief. Every district has its district council, to which wider powers in the making of local regulations were given in 1944. The districts in their turn are grouped into provinces, each province under the control of a High Chief. Every province has its own provincial council which reports direct to the Governor through the Secretary for Fijian Affairs, and its recommendations become local laws when they have received the Governor's assent.

Europeans, Fijians and Indians in the Central Government . . .

FOR the colony as a whole the Great Council of Chiefs gives the Governor authoritative advice on Fijian questions, and it is from a panel of names submitted to him by this Council that the 5 Fijians who serve on the Legislative Council are selected. There are also 5 European unofficial members on the Legislative Council, and 5 Indians to represent their compatriots who, coming to Fiji originally to work on the sugar plantations, are now almost as numerous as the Fijians. The official members of the Legislative Council have a majority of one but the unofficial members are privileged to

demand that any matter on which there is a difference of opinion should be referred to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. On the Executive Council, on which Colonel Sukuna will now serve in an official capacity, there are under the presidency of the Governor 5 official members and 2 European unofficial members.

By the enactment of the Fijian Affairs Ordinance in 1944, the 5 Fijian members of the Legislative Council, together with a legal adviser and the Secretary for Fijian Affairs as Chairman, now form a Fijian Affairs Board. This Board legislates for the Fijian community, subject to the approval of the Legislative Council, and largely controls the finances of the Fijian Native Administration.

Fijians are well represented on local Town Boards, which have jurisdiction in urban districts over public health and other measures and in rural districts on Boards which are responsible for the maintenance of public roads. They have their own Native Courts, Provincial and District, in which justice is administered according to a recognised Code of Native Regulations. District Commissioners together with Native Magistrates preside over the Provincial Courts but in the District Courts Native Magistrates sit alone.

When in 1874 Fiji was finally ceded to Britain Queen Victoria received the following message : " The King gives Her Majesty his old and favourite war-club, the former, and until lately the only known, law of Fiji. . . . Many of his people, whole tribes, died and passed away under the old law ; but hundreds of thousands still survive to learn and enjoy the newer and better state of things. With this emblem of the past the King sends his love to Her Majesty, saying that he fully confides in Her and in Her children, who, succeeding Her, shall become Kings of Fiji, to exercise a watchful control over the welfare of his children and people ; who, having survived the barbaric law and age, are now submitting themselves under Her Majesty's rule, to civilisation."

It may fairly be held that this trust has been respected.

THE SEYCHELLES

THE 92 Indian Ocean islands which form the Seychelles lie north from Madagascar and Mauritius. Captured from the French during the Napoleonic Wars, they were governed as a dependency of Mauritius until 1903 when they became a separate colony under their own Governor assisted by Executive and Legislative Councils.

The people of the Seychelles, who number only 32,000, are descended for the most part from French settlers, but there are also numbers of Africans, the descendants of freed slaves, together with Indians and Chinese who settled on the islands for trading purposes.

Until the present war the people were represented on the Legislative Council by 3 official and 3 unofficial nominated members. Soon, however, an elected element is to be introduced, for the Governor announced in January 1944 that the constitution of the Council is to be amended to provide (with

himself as President) for 6 official and 6 unofficial members. "During the war," he said, "the 6 unofficial members will continue to be nominated by the Governor, but as soon after the war as is practicable H.M. Government will be prepared to agree to the introduction of elections in respect of up to three of the unofficial members, if in the meantime it is satisfied that elections are desired by a substantial and representative body of responsible local opinion amongst that part of the community which will be affected."

It will readily be appreciated that with so small a population this announcement marks a considerable advance in political development.

CONCLUSION

"POLITICAL ADVANCE," said Colonel the Rt. Hon. Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in June 1944, "will not, and should not, always progress by dramatic bounds from one constitution to another. The fact that a municipal council is now elected instead of nominated, that the powers of native authorities in certain areas have been extended and that in some colonies the franchise has been lowered, is just as much an important part in the advance towards self-government as more spectacular events."

We have seen this advance in a number of territories. In others, not mentioned here as having made progress within the past few years, education *towards* political responsibility, the essential preliminary to progress, is being ceaselessly pursued. Britain has evolved a sound and healthy system, infinite in its powers of expansion, positive in its scope of achievement. In the quiet and steady building up of democratic institutions lies its unity and its strength.

APPENDIX

SINCE this pamphlet went to press a Command Paper has been issued containing important proposals for a revision of the Nigerian constitution. The three most striking features are : the introduction of regional Councils as a necessary measure of decentralisation, the Council for the Northern Provinces to consist of two Chambers, a House of Chiefs and a House of Assembly, those for the Western and Eastern Provinces of a single Chamber in each case, a House of Assembly ; the widening of the basis of representation to bring the established Native Authorities within the legislative machine, and an immediate advance along the road to responsible government, represented by the grant of unofficial African majorities on both the Legislative and regional Councils. Public opinion is being consulted both in Nigeria and in Britain and the unofficial members of the Nigerian Legislative Council have already expressed their hearty and unanimous support of the proposals.



14 DAY USE
RETURN TO DESK FROM WHICH BORROWED
LOAN DEPT.

This book is due on the last date stamped below,
or on the date to which renewed. Renewals only:
Tel. No. 642-3405
Renewals may be made 4 days prior to date due.
Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.

OCT 13 1970 58

LD21A-60m-8,'70
(N8837s10)476-A-32

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

